Julia Lavid, Jorge Arús and
Juan Rafael Zamorano-Mansilla

Systemic Functional Grammar of Spanish

A Contrastive Study with English

Volume 1

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Volume I

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Acknowledgements

Notations and symbols

1 Morphological notations

1p	first-person plural
1s	first-person singular
2p	second-person plural
2s	second-person singular
3p	third-person plural
3s	third-person singular
Ac	Actor
accomp	accompaniment
ACCUS.	Accusative
Af	Affected
Ag	Agent
Ag2	Secondary Agent
As-er	Assigner
At	Attribute
At-ed	Attributed
At-on	Attribution
At-or	Attributor
Be	Beneficiary
C	Conditional tense (*Condicional*)
Ca	Carrier
Circ	Circumstance
Cl	Client
C-NF	Completive New Focus
cont	Contingency
DAT	Dative
Ex	Existent
ext	extension
F	Future tense (*Futuro de Indicativo*)
F-pf	Future Perfect (*Futuro Perfecto*)
Go	Goal

GoingTo	Going-to Future
Id	Identified
IMP	Imperative (*Imperativo*)
Ind	Inducer
Indi	Indicative
Inf	Infinitive (*Infinitivo*)
Ins	Instigator
interp.	Interpersonal
Interp. Theme	Interpersonal Theme
IQ	implied question
Ir	Identifier
lit.	literally
loc	location
Me	Medium
NP	Noun Phrase
PASS	Passive voice
Ph	Phenomenon
P-ipfv	Imperfective Past tense (*Pretérito Imperfecto*)
pl	plural
P-pf	Past Perfect (*Pretérito Pluscuamperfecto*)
P-pfv	Perfective Past tense (*Pretérito Indefinido*)
Pr	Present tense (*Presente*)
Prog	Progressive
Pron.	Pronominal
Pr-pf	Present Perfect (*Pretérito Perfecto*)
Ps-Ins	Pseudo-Instigator
Q-NF	Questioning New Focus
Ra	Range
Re	Recipient
redup.	reduplication
REFL	Reflexive
Sa	Sayer
Sco	Scope
Se	Senser
sg	singular
Subj	Subjunctive mode (*modo Subjuntivo*)
Ta	Target
To	Token
Va	Value
Ve	Verbiage

2 Systemic notations

/	conflation
+	insertion
:	preselection (and realization)
^	ordering
…	partition
:::	inflection

3 Structural notations

α	and other lower case Greek alphabet: hypotaxis
1	and other Arabic numerals: parataxis
→	interdependency relation
Actor	and other terms with initial capitals: names of function
MOOD	and other terms in all upper cases: names of system

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Aims of the book

This book has been written with several aims in mind. One first aim is to contribute to recent descriptive accounts of the clause grammars of different languages from the systemic functional (henceforth SF) perspective (see Caffarel 2006, Li 2007, Teruya 2007), and to the expanding field of SF typology initiated with work on the metafunctional profiles of the grammar of eight different languages (see Caffarel et al. 2004).

One second aim is to offer a unique perspective on Spanish based on the SF conception of grammar as a resource for making and expressing meanings (systemic potential) which are instantiated in different text types. This perspective is particularly adapted for the purposes of discourse analysis and interpretation, one of the main motivations for the grammatical sketch presented here. Through extended discourse analysis we hope to show how meaning is construed by lexicogrammatical patterns in text in different textual and contextual environments.

One third aim is to present a contrastive account with selected regions of the English grammar, highlighting the main differences between both languages, both at the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic level.[1]

In pursuing these aims, we hope to suit the needs of a variety of readers: (a) readers already familiar with SF but unfamiliar with Spanish lexicogrammar; (b) readers already familiar with Spanish and English but unfamiliar with SF; and (c) readers interested in the functional–typological comparison between Spanish and English for a number of theoretical and applied purposes.

The range of potential users includes undergraduates, postgraduates and academics in several theoretical and applied fields, such as specialists on Spanish Linguistics, Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies, methodologists and Spanish as-a-second-language textbook designers. We also hope that the systemic nature of the descriptions may serve as the theoretical

basis for the development of computational specifications for automated generation.

1.2 Linguistic framework: SF theory

The theoretical framework adopted in this book is SF theory. In adopting this theory we are not simply preserving an already existing description of Spanish (such as the one that can be found in available reference grammars of Spanish) and representing it in a new formalism, but we have attempted to create a new conceptualization of the Spanish grammar based on a number of dimensions of SF theory. These are briefly presented below.[2]

1.2.1 Instantiation: System and text

The **cline of instantiation** is a dimension that organizes different types of systems, for example, biological systems, physical systems, social systems and semiotic systems. It is the relationship that exists between a general, abstract phenomenon and its actual manifestation in specific occurrences or instances of it. For example, language is a semiotic system which is instantiated in specific text instances. A text is an instance of the linguistic system, and the linguistic system is instantiated in the form of a text (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 26). The system represents the overall underlying potential of a language, while the text is a particular instance of this underlying system. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 27) use the analogy of the relationship which exists between our notion of climate and our experience of the weather. The weather is analogous to the text, since it is the actual manifestation of a more general abstract concept, the climate, which represents the system, the potential which underlies different weather manifestations. Instantiation can be stated in terms of systemic probabilities, thus providing us with a way of identifying similarities and differences between languages. In the SF-based description of Spanish presented in this book we will work both with the concept of system, as the underlying potential, and the concept of text, as an instantiation of the linguistic system.

1.2.2 Organizing principles: System and structure

SF theory studies two main types of organizing principles in language: systemic and structural. **Systemic organization** refers to the overall conception

of the grammar as a resource, a meaning potential. This contrasts with the notion of grammar as a set of rules and the emphasis on structures and constructions which characterizes prescriptive and modern formal grammars. In SF theory, the fundamental mode of organization is systemic (or paradigmatic), that is, grammar conceived as a set of interrelated options available to the speaker to express meanings. Structures are conceived as the realizations or manifestations of the paradigmatic options.

The theoretical representation of paradigmatic relations is the **system network**. It is a set of interrelated options or choice-points called systems which capture the meaning potential of a linguistic phenomenon. For example, Figure 1.1 is an excerpt from the system network of NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY and MOOD in Spanish which can serve as a simple example. (The excerpt is a simplified version of the networks to be presented in Chapters 3 and 4).

In the system network (Figure 1.1) the first feature is 'clause'; if 'clause' is chosen, there are two simultaneous options, 'material/relational/mental/verbal' in the PROCESS TYPE system and 'indicative/imperative' in MOOD TYPE system; if 'indicative' is selected, the options are 'declarative' and 'interrogative'; and so on. An increase in delicacy (shown from left to right in the system networks) expresses a logical relation from more general to more specific terms, not the real-time sequence in which choices are performed.

The system network in Figure 1.1 consists of eight systems, which appear in capital letters (e.g. PROCESS TYPE). Each system has two or more terms or output features representing a grammatical alternation (e.g. material/relational/mental/verbal) and an entry (input) condition, which specifies the context under which the choice specified by the system is available. For instance, the choice 'optative/directive' is available if 'imperative' is chosen.

When choices are simultaneous, as in the case of the systems of MOOD TYPE and PROCESS TYPE in Figure 1.1, clauses select from both systems and their descendants simultaneously. This simultaneous selection defines a paradigm, as shown by the two-dimensional matrix in Table 1.1.

The cells in the table represent intersections of terms from the simultaneous systems, and the tabular representation is a useful way of capturing available or unavailable combinations. Throughout the book we will use both the system network and the two-dimensional table (matrix) as representational mechanisms of paradigmatic options.

Alongside the system network as the fundamental mode of organization in the grammar, there is another mode of organization – the syntagmatic mode – which specifies the items and the structures that realize or express
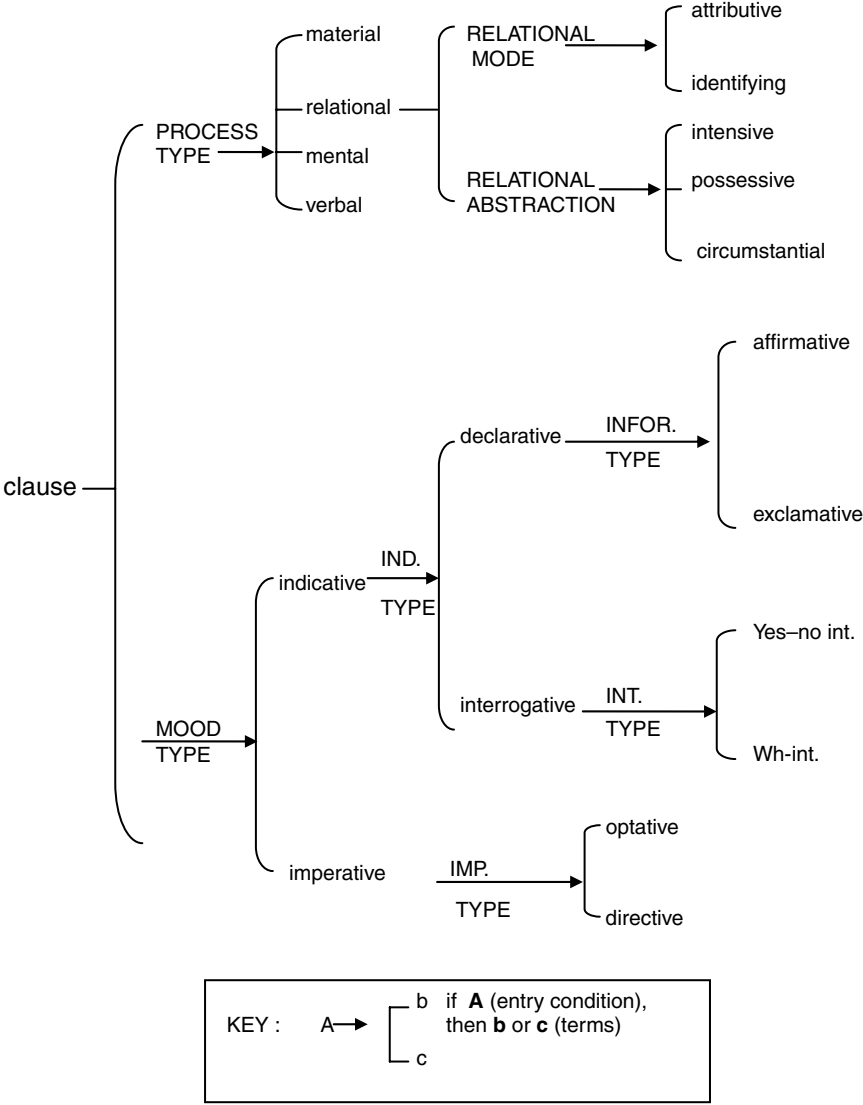
FIGURE 1.1   System network fragment of Spanish clause systems

the paradigmatic choices. So, for instance, we can specify that in Spanish, imperative clauses must have the Predicator element and that in optative clauses, the element *Ojalá/Si/Así* precedes the Predicator. This type of specification is called a **realization statement**, since it states how features in the

Table 1.1 Tabular representation of systemic paradigm

	Indicative	Imperative
Material	*María toca el piano*	*¡Toca el piano!*
Relational	*Juan es muy educado*	*¡Sé educado!*
Mental	*María aprendió la lección*	*¡Aprende la lección!*
Verbal	*Nos contó la verdad*	*¡Cuéntanos la verdad!*

system network are expressed through a piece of wording. In general, system features have an associated realization statement, usually represented inside boxes immediately below the systemic feature. A realization statement specifies a structural fragment in the context of a feature of the system network (Matthiessen 1995a: 20). For example, in Figure 1.2 the IMPERATIVE TYPE system has two features which capture the two options available in this context: 'optative' and 'directive'. If the 'optative' option is chosen, the realization statement represented in the box below specifies that the function structure must contain an optative marker (o-marker) lexified as *ojálá* or *así*, the Predicator (+Pred) and the Finite element (+Finite). It also specifies that the order must be: first the optative marker, followed by the Predicator and the Finite (Subjunctive) as obligatory elements.

Different types of realization statements (e.g. inserting, ordering, lexifying or conflating elements) collectively contribute to the formation of structural features in the language. Structures are thus conceived not as isolated patterns of language, but as realization of systemic choices.

1.2.3 Rank

As explained in Caffarel et al. (2004: 38), although one can conceive that the semantic, lexicogrammatical or phonological potential of a language
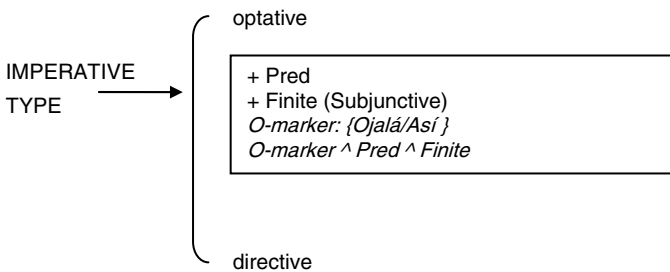
FIGURE 1.2 A partial system network with realizations

would be organized in a single, vast system network and that options in the network would be realized within the structure of a single unit, this would lead to very complex linguistic systems. Instead, what one finds is the dimension of **rank**, along which the systemic resources within each stratum (semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology) are distributed. Rank is a dimension which orders units into a compositional hierarchy, known as the **rank scale** (Halliday 1961). In this scale, clauses consist of groups/phrases, which in turn consist of words, and words consist of morphemes. Grammatical systems are distributed across different ranks, thus allowing a 'division of labour' in the grammar. In Spanish the rank scale is clause – group/phrase – word – morpheme.

The Spanish grammar presented here is primarily concerned with the two highest ranks, clause and group/phrase, since our perspective is clause-based rather than word- or morpheme-based. However, as will be explained in different parts of the book, word morphology is frequently used in Spanish, as in other inflectional languages, to realize certain grammatical categories.

1.2.4 Metafunction

Another dimension of SF theory on which we have based our Spanish grammar profile is the principle of **metafunctional diversification**. This principle assumes that language is organized into different modes of meaning or metafunctions: interpersonal, ideational and textual. The ideational metafunction is concerned with construing experience and has two modes: experiential and logical. The interpersonal metafunction is concerned with enacting interpersonal relations through language. The textual metafunction is concerned with organizing ideational and interpersonal meaning as text in context. Each metafunction defines a metafunctional domain or component in the grammar – the ideational domain, the interpersonal one and the textual one. These are reflected in the grammar across different ranks, such as clauses, groups or words, creating functional subdomains or grammar regions. In our account of the Spanish lexicogrammar we focus on the main experiential, interpersonal and textual functional regions of the Spanish clause as well as on those of groups and phrases. As will be shown in the different chapters, our account will be presented both from the systemic and the structural perspectives. The systemic perspective implies looking at clusters of relatively independent choices from different metafunctional domains or regions. For example, when describing the

experiential region of the Spanish clause, we will focus on how different systems (such as PROCESS TYPE, CAUSATION and AGENCY) work together to create an experiential configuration consisting of Processes, Participants and Circumstances. The structural perspective implies looking at the different forms of realization associated with ideational, interpersonal and textual resources. Thus, in SF theory ideational resources are associated with **particulate** forms of realization, construing experience as components or constituents. Interpersonal resources are associated with **prosodic** forms of realization. Textual resources are associated with **periodic** forms of realization, organizing semiotic reality as waves of information (Caffarel et al. 2004: 36). However, given the representational problems associated with the task of representing prosodic and periodic modes of expression, we will use the particulate form of realization to represent experiential, interpersonal and textual structures, thus showing how different structures map onto each other.

1.2.5 Data and methods

The data used in this book come from different textual sources. The examples used to illustrate grammatical categories in Spanish have been extracted from two important corpora of contemporary Spanish, namely, the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) and the *Corpus del Español* (CE), both available online. The English examples of the contrastive sections have been extracted from the online version of the *British National Corpus* (BNC).[3] The texts used in Chapter 5 have been selected to illustrate the linguistic behaviour of textual categories in different situational contexts. Also, we have used the results of previous corpus-based studies to ensure the empirical basis of the descriptive and the contrastive claims. The methodology used for the creation of the SF description of Spanish and the contrast with English is based on both qualitative and quantitative textual analysis. In so doing, we have given priority to the view 'from above', that is, grammar seen as a resource for making meaning in context. We have also emphasized the concept of 'system' as meaningful choice as the main organizing principle of grammar, and analysed structure in functional terms.

1.2.6 Organization of the book

This book comprises six chapters, three of them dedicated to clause grammar, and a final one to the grammar of groups and phrases. This organization is

based on two main dimensions of SF theory: 'rank' and 'metafunctional diversification'. Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 are dedicated to the highest unit in the rank scale, that is, the clause, while Chapter 6 is dedicated to the grammar of groups and phrases to complement the grammatical description with a view from below the clause.

The chapters dedicated to the grammar of the clause foreground its privileged position in SF-based grammatical descriptions. The clause is 'the mainspring of grammatical energy; it is the unit where meanings of different kinds, experiential, interpersonal and textual, are integrated into a single syntagm' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 50). These different kinds of meaning are conceptualized in SF theory as highly generalized functions of the linguistic system or 'metafunctions'. Thus, Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 are dedicated to the exploration of the lexicogrammatical resources for construing different metafunctional meanings in the Spanish clause.

Chapters 2 and 3 explore the resources for construing ideational meanings. These are meanings concerned with our interpretation of the world around us, and also inside ourselves. They can represent relations between processes (logical), or represent the processes themselves (experiential). Chapter 2 explores the resources for construing logical relationships between processes, including the clause-complex systems of TAXIS, LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE and RECURSION. Chapter 3 explores the resources for construing our external and internal experience as a configuration of a process, participants involved in the process and circumstances attendant on it. This includes the general system of TRANSITIVITY, which can be divided into NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY and CIRCUMSTANTIAL TRANSITIVITY.

Chapter 4 explores the resources for construing interpersonal meanings, including the systems of MOOD, MODALITY and POLARITY in the Spanish clause. Finally, Chapter 5 explores the resources for construing textual meanings, that is, those concerned with the presentation of ideational and interpersonal meanings as text in context. Here, we study the *thematic organization* of the Spanish clause and the phenomenon of *information structuring*. The description includes the textual analysis of selected extracts from different text types to illustrate the behaviour of the categories proposed.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the grammar of groups and phrases. Here we focus on those units that rank immediately below the clause and which can be regarded as the building blocks to construct clauses. We study the properties of the nominal, the verbal, the adjectival and the adverbial groups, as well as those of prepositional phrases in Spanish. The analysis emphasizes

the ideational features of the different structures of each type of group, since these meanings seem to be dominant while the others are only occasionally present.

Each chapter has a similar structure. The first section of each chapter provides a brief introduction to the different resources for construing different metafunctional meanings in the Spanish clause. The rest of the sections present a more detailed description of the main systems and their realizations in Spanish, followed by a contrastive section dedicated to the presentation of the main differences between Spanish and English, both at the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic level. The description is illustrated with numerous examples and extensive textual analysis, as the text is interpreted in systemic terms as instantiating the system. Finally, each chapter concludes with a summary section foregrounding the main aspects of the description.

Notes

[1] The contrastive account with English presented in this book differs in many respects from other available Spanish–English contrastive descriptions. It is different in approach and orientation from formal/structural descriptions where contrasts are studied as isolated linguistic facts (cf. Winters 2002). Our approach is functional and discourse-oriented, analysing structural differences as the result of different metafunctional tensions operating in the process of discourse production. Also, the profile of Spanish presented here clearly differs in purpose and scope from available collections of different contrastive English–Spanish studies (e.g. Martínez Vázquez 1996) or from student's handbooks (Cruz Cabanillas 2008).

[2] The presentation here is sketchy and partial, since we just focus on those dimensions of SF theory which are more relevant for the current description of Spanish. For a detailed discussion of the theory see Halliday (1978, 2004), Caffarel et al. (2004), Martin (1992), Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) and Fawcett (2000) among others.

[3] The *CREA corpus* is available online at http://www.rae.es. The *Corpus del Español* is available at http://www.corpusdelespanol.org/. The *British National Corpus* is available at http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/.

Chapter 2

The grammar of ideation I: Logical metafunction

2.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, the ideational metafunction has two aspects that intertwine in the construal of experience as meaning, that is, the logical and the experiential. In the description of the logical resources of Spanish, we will be looking at the way in which this language links clauses together to form clause complexes. Logico-semantic relations have in fact a fractal nature, that is, the same linking resources are available, and therefore exploited, not only at clause-complexing level but also at group- and phrase-complexing level as well as in the relation holding between Circumstantial Transitivity and Nuclear Transitivity (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 259–280, 363–441, 486–521). Since in this book we are mainly focusing on the clause, this chapter will be devoted to the relations holding within clause complexes. Logico-semantic relations at transitivity, that is, intra-clausal, and group levels will nevertheless be dealt with in Chapters 3 and 6, respectively.

Perhaps the simplest and most straightforward way of presenting the basic systems of clause complexing is by referring to the system network provided by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 373) for English – since the same relations hold in Spanish – and explain the resources there specified by means of examples in Spanish. Figure 2.1 reproduces the afore-mentioned system network.

The system of TAXIS specifies the 'degree of interdependency' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 373) between the clauses in a clause complex. When they are in hypotactic relation, it means that the clauses are assigned unequal status, only one of the clauses being able to stand on its own. In traditional grammars, the clause of superior status is called the *main clause* and that of inferior status is referred to as the *subordinate clause* (see Caffarel
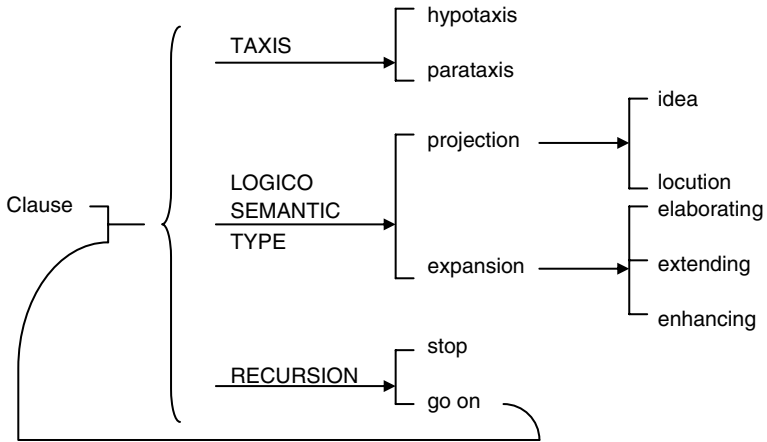
Figure 2.1 Clause-complexing system network (from Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 373)

2006: 24 for an illustration of the relationships between systemic terms for clause-complex categories and traditional terms). One reason for avoiding the traditional terminology is that, as Halliday and Matthiessen point out, '"subordination" has usually been used to refer to both hypotaxis and embedding without the critical distinction between the two' (2004: 374), the latter being a mechanism to expand not clauses but groups (see Chapter 6).[1] Examples (1, 2) illustrate hypotactically related clauses in a clause complex, whereas paratactic relations are shown in (3–4). As in the rest of book all examples are, unless indicated to the contrary, from the CREA corpus. As we can see, whereas the alpha clauses in (1, 2) could stand freely, the same cannot be said of the beta clauses. On the other hand, both clauses in the clause complexes (3, 4) may have a life of their own. Incidentally, examples (1–4) introduce the convention that is used to indicate the different kinds of taxis, namely Greek letters for relations of dependency (hypotaxis) and numbers for relations of independency (parataxis).

Hypotaxis

(1) α: *Para la operación se emplearon tanques y helicópteros,* β: *lo que causó un gran número de víctimas*
'Tanks and helicopters were used in the operation, which caused a large number of victims'

(2) α: *decidimos* β: *que hablara él*
'we decided that he should speak'

Parataxis

(3) 1: *Entraron de sopetón* 2: *y nosotros nos fuimos detrás*
     'they burst in and we followed behind'

(4) 1: *ella entonces exclamó* 2: *– Ah, sí, perdona*
     'she then exclaimed – oh, yes, I'm sorry'

The four examples seen above have been purposely picked to include different selections not only in terms of taxis but also regarding the system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE. As shown in Figure 2.1, this system consists of two main options, that is, projection and expansion, the former being the resource whereby 'the secondary clause is projected through the primary clause, which instates it as (a) a locution or (b) an idea' whereas by means of expansion 'the secondary clause expands the primary clause, by (a) elaborating it, (b) extending it or (c) enhancing it' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 377). We can now look again at examples (1–4) in the light not only of the tactic interdependencies holding in them but also of the different logico-semantic relations they exemplify. Thus, (1) and (3) instantiate expansion whereas (2) and (4) instantiate projection. In (1) the primary clause is expanded through elaboration, that is, by 'restating on other words, specifying in greater detail, commenting or exemplifying' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378). As we see in the new analysis of (1) provided below, the convention used for this resource is '=', which indicates that the secondary clause speaks about the same as the primary clause, only restating it. Thus, both the alpha and beta clauses in (1) refer to the use of heavy weaponry in a military operation, the beta clause specifying the consequences that use brought about.

Hypotaxis and expansion: elaboration

(1) α: *Para la operación se emplearon tanques y helicópteros,* =β: *lo que causó un gran número de víctimas*
     'Tanks and helicopters were used in the operation, which caused a large number of victims'

Still within expansion, the secondary clause in (3) instantiates this resource not through the elaboration seen in the case of (1) but through extension. By so doing, the secondary clause – now 2 instead of β as the two clauses are in paratactic relation – expands the primary clause 'by extending beyond it: adding some new element, giving an exception to it, or offering an alternative' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378). The convention

to indicate extension is the symbol '+', which clearly conveys the idea of something being added. In example (3), and differently from (1), both clauses refer to different elements of experience, the action of following behind being added to that of bursting in.

Parataxis and expansion: extension
(3) 1: *Entraron de sopetón* +2: *y nosotros nos fuimos detrás*
  'they burst in and we followed behind'

Before moving on to the use of projection in examples (2) and (4), let us provide one more couple of examples to illustrate the third type of expansion, that is, enhancement, symbolized by '×'. When one clause enhances another, it does so by 'embellishing around it: qualifying it with some circumstantial feature of time, place, cause or condition' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378). Such is the case in (5), where the secondary clause paratactically qualifies the primary one with a feature of cause (taking 'result' to belong to causal circumstance), and (6), where the secondary clause – which happens first in this case – hypotactically qualifies the primary one, also with a feature of cause. These two examples incidentally show a differentiating characteristic of paratactic and hypotactic relations: whereas in the former the primary clause always precedes the secondary clause, the relation is on the other hand often reversible if hypotactic, as illustrated by (6).

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement
(5) 1: *la información estará al alcance de la prensa la próxima semana*, ×2: *así que habrá que esperar*

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement
(6) ×β: *como era tarde*, α: *todo el mundo se fue directamente a su habitación*

As stated above, projection involves either a locution or an idea. In the case of an idea, 'one clause is projected through another, which presents it as an idea, a construction of meaning' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378). In example (2), the secondary clause is projected as an idea of the mental verb *decidir* ('decide'), ideas being characteristic of mental processes, whereas locutions happen in verbal processes where 'one clause is projected through another, which presents it as a locution, a construction of wording' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 378), as illustrated by the paratactically projected secondary clause in (4). Note the double quotes to

indicate locution versus the single quotes for idea. As with symbols of expansion, they are placed before the symbol for tactic relation and are independent from the quotes that may be used for purposes of punctuation in paratactic projections.

Hypotaxis and projection: idea

(2) α: *decidimos* 'β: *que hablara él*
     'we decided that he should speak'

Parataxis and projection: locution

(4) 1: *ella entonces exclamó* "2: – *Ah, sí, perdona*
     'she then exclaimed – oh, yes, I'm sorry'

The third system in Figure 2.1, that is, RECURSION is rather self-explanatory; in a narrow approach, recursivity refers to the 'embeddability of a part of structure within another part' (Tomioka 2007: 102). In a wider approach as the one taken in SFL and therefore here, it refers to the possibility of using any kind of logico-semantic and tactic resource for clause complexing, as the ones so far seen. As the system network shows, RECURSION accounts for the repetitive use of those resources as many times as needed; every time further complexing happens, the system goes back to 'clause', where the logical resources are again available. Thus, at clause level, all examples (1–6) above use logical clause-complexing resources only once, which contrasts with examples (7) and (8) below, where clause-complexing resources are exploited twice in each. In (7) we can see an example of extension with two clauses related paratactically, the secondary clause consisting at the same time of another clause complex, brought about by projection, in which the relationship between the projecting clause and the locution is hypotactic. In (8), in turn, the projection takes place, again hypotactically, between the primary and the secondary clause, and it is within the latter that the logico-semantic resources are exploited again, in this case hypotactic enhancement. Note that we have specified that we are looking at recursivity 'at clause level', and we have done so because, as stated above, logico-semantic relations have fractal nature and thus happen at different rank levels; if we looked at the same examples at group and phrase level we would see the use of these resources multiply, as will be duly explained in Chapter 6.

Recursivity in clause complexes

(7) 1: *Con respecto a eso no me dijo nada,* +2: α: *pero me dijo* "β: *que iba a viajar mucho*

(8) α: *me pidió* "β: α: *que lo llevara a un restaurante italiano* ×β: β: *porque quería algo muy liviano*

Before moving on to a more detailed description of the lexicogrammar of Spanish in terms of the exploitation of its clause-complexing resources, a word should be said about the differences between written and spoken language in this respect. As pointed out by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 654; see also Halliday and Martin 1993), spoken language presents a higher degree of grammatical intricacy than written language. This means that clause-complexing resources are more recursively exploited in the former, whereas the latter is characterized by its lexical density, that is, logico-semantic resources are exploited at group and phrase, rather than at clause, level. This is achieved by means of the grammatical metaphor known as *nominalization.* Examples (9a) and (10a) below illustrate this difference; the former contains heavily loaded nominal groups which could be unpacked as shown in (9b), thus becoming more spoken-language-like, whereas (10a) epitomizes spoken language and could be turned into a more written-language-like process by resorting to a nominalization such as the one proposed in (10b). Note how the clause complex in (10a) becomes a simple clause in (10b), exactly the reverse of the transition from simple clause to clause complex in (9).

Written language and lexical density

(9a) *Uno de los efectos económicos de los ataques terroristas a Estados Unidos es el incremento del precio del petróleo en el mercado mundial*
'One of the economic effects of the terrorist attacks on the United States is the increase in oil prices in the international market'

(9b) *Después de que los terroristas hayan atacado los Estados Unidos, el precio del petróleo ha incrementado en el mercado mundial*
'After terrorists attacked the United States, oil prices have increased in the international market'

Spoken language and grammatical intricacy

(10a) *como han entrado ya seis dueños, ha pasado la fábrica de un dueño, de otro dueño de otro dueño*
'as six (different) owners have already passed by, the factory has gone from one owner, from another owner of another owner's'

(10b) *la entrada de seis dueños ha provocado el paso de la fábrica de un dueño a otro y a otro . . .*

'the passing by of six (different) owners has brought about the factory's going from one owner to another, and yet to another . . .'

The different logical relations typically holding in written and spoken language perfectly illustrate the malleability of language. Within the logical sphere, this malleability extends beyond the written/spoken contrast, allowing speakers to change logical relations for a number of purposes. These changes typically result in a number of different metaphorical realizations (see Arús 2009).

Before bringing this introductory section to an end, something should be said about the criteria to tell hypotaxis from parataxis, as there are some cases in which it may not be at first sight easy to know which tactic relation is holding. Let us compare for that purpose examples (11) and (12); why is it that whereas the conjunction *pues* introduces a secondary clause paratactically related to the primary clause, *puesto que*, with a similar causal meaning, implies a hypotactic relationship?

Parataxis

(11) 1: *Mucha gente cree que no tiene sentido votar* ×2: *pues ya se sabe quién va a ganar*
      'Many people think it makes no sense to vote for it is already known who's going to win'

Hypotaxis: progressive

(12) α: *No debe ofrecérsele biberón o pecho,* ×β: *puesto que ya se le alimentó*
      '(the baby) shouldn't be offered the bottle or the breast, as (s)he has already been fed'

The clause complexes in (11) and (12) both of them illustrate the logico-semantic resource of enhancement, and it is precisely when enhancement is involved that certain difficulties may arise to determine the tactic relation. With the other kinds of expansion, that is, extension and elaboration, as well as with projection the distinction between hypotaxis and parataxis is quite clear-cut, as a cursory look at examples (1–4) above attests. This is why we are going to resort to a criterion which mostly applies to enhancement, as well as to extension, but, as we do not need it for the other tactic relations, is good enough for us. This criterion, called *reversibility*, has also been used for languages such as English (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) or French (Caffarel 2006) and is, as we are going to see, as applicable to Spanish as to those languages. Following the reversibility criterion – which

is also used to identify categories in other areas of the lexicogrammar (see relational processes in Chapter 3) – we see that there are some clause complexes in which the primary and the secondary clause can swap places, that is, both sequences α ^ β and β ^ α are possible. As the symbols used imply, these reversible clause complexes are always formed through hypotaxis; when the sequence is α ^ β, it is called *progressive*, when β ^ α, *regressive*. This leaves us with paratactic relations being characterized by their non-reversibility. The contrast is perfectly illustrated by (11, 12): clause complexes in Spanish do not typically start with the conjunction *pues* (the same as in English they do not start with *for*); conversely clause complexes with *puesto que* (as those in English with *since, as* or *because*) can choose either the progressive or the regressive form of expression, thus showing the paratactic relation holding in them. Drawing on this, we could re-express (12) as (13) below, whereas the hypotaxis in (11), conversely, does not easily welcome the sequence expressed in (14). If Spanish speakers were to use such sequence, *pues* would give way to other conjunctions such as *puesto que* or *como*.[2]

Hypotaxis: regressive

(13) ×β: *Puesto que ya se le alimentó,* α: *no debe ofrecérsele biberón o pecho*
'As (s)he has already been fed, (the baby) shouldn't be offered the bottle or the breast'

Unwelcome paratactic regression

(14) *×2: *Pues ya se sabe quién va a ganar,* 1: *mucha gente cree que no tiene sentido votar*
'*For it is known who's going to win, many people think it makes no sense to vote'

   The choice between a hypotactic and a paratactic clause nexus is not arbitrary. As is the case with all decision affecting the order of elements in the clause, the underlying motivation is a textual one, namely thematic. Textual meaning is dealt with in Chapter 5, and the different thematic resources of Spanish are described there. At this point we are simply to refer very briefly to how thematization affects the choice of nexus in a clause complex, in particular those brought about by hypotactic enhancement. Once again, we will resort to Halliday and Matthiessen's words, when they claim that 'The contrast between progressive and regressive sequence . . . is quite typical of procedural texts: temporal clauses delimiting the perform-ance of actions tend to be rhematic, but conditional clauses and purpose

clauses re-orienting the development of the text are thematic' (2004: 393). All these meanings – that is, temporal, conditional, purpose – are associated with enhancing logico-semantic resources, as the ones deployed in the hypotactic complexes (6), (8) and (12) above. In fact, these three examples illustrate all of them the construal of causal meaning, specifically 'cause: reason'. So as to make the picture more complete, we show in (15–17) and (18–20) two sets of examples of each of the three kinds of enhancing meanings quoted from Halliday and Matthiessen, that is, 'temporal', 'cause: condition' and 'cause: purpose', respectively (see Table 2.3 for a classification of enhancement categories). Examples (15–17) illustrate progressive sequences, whereas in (18–20) the same conjunctions used in (15–17) partake in regressive sequences.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: progressive

(15) α: *Están ustedes montados en el dólar* ×β: *desde que han abierto este negocio*
      'You're rolling in money since you opened this business'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: cause: condition: progressive

(16) α: *es facilísimo* ×β: *siempre que el seductor sea un hombre en condiciones*
      'it's very easy provided that the seducer be an acceptable man'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: cause: result: progressive

(17) α: *En la película hay la mínima luz* ×β: *para que podamos ver*
      'In the film there's a minimum of light so that we can see'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: regressive

(18) ×β: *desde que ella está en el poder* α: *Valencia está muy sucia*
      'since she's been in power, Valencia has been very dirty'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: cause: condition: regressive

(19) ×β: *siempre que lo controles* α: *puedes fumar todo lo que quieras*
      'provided that you control it you can smoke as much as you like'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: cause: result: regressive

(20) ×β: *Para que podamos utilizar un CD-ROM en nuestro ordenador,* α: *necesitamos una disquetera especial llamada lector de CD-ROM*
      'So that we can use a CD-ROM on our computer, we need a special drive called CD-ROM reader'

As we can see in (15–20), whenever the β-clause is thematic, as in (18–20), it 'set[s] up a local context in the discourse for the α-clause' (Halliday and

Matthiessen 2004: 393), whereas rhematic β-clauses, for example, those in (15–17), sort of delimit the meaning expressed in the thematic α-clause. Thus, if we take a look, for instance, at (15), the rhematic *desde que han abierto este negocio* circumscribes the well-off condition of the addressees to a specific time frame, that is, the time starting with their opening their business. Conversely, the regressive use of the temporal *desde que* clause in (18) first establishes the time setting, in this case that of Valencia's mayor's tenure, within which the information conveyed by the rhematic α-clause, about the city's dirty condition, is to be understood (see Downing and Locke 2006: 228 for a discussion of this property of clause-initial circumstantial meanings). The same contrast can be applied to the pairs (16, 19) and (17, 20), with the only difference that the contextualizing or delimiting effects of the thematic and rhematic β-clauses, respectively, are not temporal but conditional (in 16, 19) and resultative (in 17, 20). The different consequences for textual purposes of opting for progressive or regressive sequences are delved into in Chapter 5.

We move on now to provide a more delicate description of the logico-semantic resources of Spanish and the different kinds of structures resulting from the interaction of these resources with parataxis and hypotaxis. Although there is rich literature on the Spanish clause complex (e.g. Garcés 1994, López García 1996, Martínez 1999, as well as corresponding chapters in the different Spanish grammars, notably in Bosque and Demonte 1999), the use of logico-semantic criteria for the description of the clause-complexing systems in Spanish will arguably allow a finer-grained classification and deeper understanding of the nuances of this fundamental lexicogrammatical unit.

2.2 Logico-semantic delicacy

2.2.1 Expansion

2.2.1.1 *Paratactic elaboration* (1=2)

Paratactic elaboration typically serves to give an exposition, exemplify or clarify (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 397). In the case of exposition, the secondary clause offers a rephrasing of the primary clause, hence the frequent use of conjunctive expressions such as *o sea* or *es decir*, both of them used in example (21) and meaning something similar to 'in other words'. When the exposition is expressed by means of this kind of expressions, it typically provides an alternative point of view to what is stated in the primary clause. On other occasions – mostly when the two clauses are

juxtaposed, that is, with no conjunctive expression linking them – the secondary clause serves as a reinforcement of the message conveyed by the primary clause; such is the case in (22).

Parataxis and expansion: elaboration: exposition

(21) *Para que un ángulo quede determinado deberemos establecer el sentido de medición del mismo, que podrá ser: Medición en sentido horario, o sea, que corresponde al sentido de giro de las agujas del reloj . . . Medición en sentido antihorario, **es decir**, que corresponde al sentido de giro contrario a las agujas del reloj*
'For an angle to be determined we must establish the measuring sense thereof, which can be: Clockwise measuring, that is, corresponding to the rotation sense of clock hands . . . Anticlockwise measuring, that is to say, corresponding to the rotation sense opposite to clock hands'

(22) *Me encanta bailar, adoro el baile*
'I really like dancing, I love dance'

When the secondary clause is used to exemplify, the information there provided is more specific than that of the primary clause, typically including examples, as illustrated by (23) and (24), whether in juxtaposition (23) or introduced by expressions such as *por ejemplo* ('for instance/example'), as in (24). It can be the case, however, that what the secondary clause expresses are not actual examples but rather a specification of what was stated in a more general way in the primary clause. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 398) state, this tends to result in lexical-cohesive relationship of hyponymy or meronymy, as illustrated by *extranjero – Dominique Young* in (25) and *portal – noticias, webmail . . . espacio gratuito* in (26), respectively. This contrasts with the relationships that can be found in exposition, which are closer to synonymy, as can be clearly seen in (22), above, *encantar* and *adorar* being very close synonyms in Spanish.

Parataxis and expansion: elaboration: exemplification

(23) *Venden de todo: claveles, folletos, biblias, pasteles, libros, estampas, máscaras egipcias, hierbas, ídolos*
'They sell all sorts of things: carnations, leaflets, bibles, cakes, books, stamps, Egyptian masks, herbs, idols'

(24) *Hay muchos países del Tercer Mundo que tienen un médico cada diez mil. En África, **por ejemplo**, hay países con uno cada quince mil, uno cada veinte mil*

'There are many countries in the Third World that have one doctor for every ten thousand (people). In Africa, for instance, there are countries with one for every fifteen thousand, one for every twenty thousand'

(25) *También el conjunto riojano [. . .] tiene un nuevo extranjero. **Se trata de Dominique Young, 23 años***
'Also the team from La Rioja [. . .] has a new foreigner, namely Dominique Young, 23'

(26) *Este portal latinoamericano [. . .] tiene lo típìco:* [tiene] *noticias, webmail y un espacio gratuito para tener la página web personal*
'This Latin-American site [. . .] has the typical: [it has] news, webmail and a free space for your personal web page'

When the non-defining relative clause serves the purpose of clarification, it does so by commenting on the primary clause's statement so as to back it up, as in (27, 28). This arguably makes this kind of elaboration the least exclusively expanding one, as the elaboration of the secondary clause on the primary clause involves not only further description or specification but also some added message, at least more clearly so than in the case of exposition and exemplification. Clarification would therefore in a way be not so distant from the logico-semantic resource of extension, thus providing a soft transition between these two resources, that is, expansion and extension. Example (28) illustrates the shift in polarity that is often brought about by clarification, as observed by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 398) for English. The two conjunctive expressions used in (27) and (28) are typical of this kind of elaboration, *más bien* (which could most literally be translated as 'rather') providing a perfect springboard for the change of polarity.

Parataxis and expansion: elaboration: clarification
(27) *¡sí sucede! y, **para ser más preciso**, ocurrió en Valladolid, Yucatán*
'Yes, it happens! And, to be more precise, it happened in Valladolid, Yucatán'

Parataxis and expansion: elaboration: clarification: change of polarity
(28) *Yo es que creo que no hace falta. **Más bien** creo que hace falta que no se entiendan*
'I don't think it's necessary. In fact I think it's better if they don't understand each other'

2.2.1.2 *Hypotactic elaboration* (α=β)

In hypotactic elaboration, the secondary clause further describes what the primary clause states. As Halliday and Matthiessen put it, 'this functions as a kind of descriptive gloss to the primary clause' (2004: 399). Hypotactic elaborating clauses are introduced by relative pronouns or relative adverbs and follow a comma in writing or the corresponding pause in speaking (see RAE 1986: 525); this is, therefore, the realm of non-defining relative clauses, that is, those relative clauses which express a quality or circumstance of their antecedent, as opposed to defining relative clauses, which specify or restrict their antecedent (RAE 1986: 525). Examples (29–49) illustrate different kinds of relative pronouns (29–46) and adverbs (47–49). The former refer back to participants, either nuclear (29–39) or circumstantial[3] (40–42), in the dominant clause, or to the whole process (43–46) and are themselves participants (29–36, 40, 41, 43, 44) or circumstantial elements in the elaborating clause – when Complements in a prepositional phrase, as in (37–39, 42, 45, 46). Adverbs, in turn, also refer back to either nuclear (47) or circumstantial participants (48–49), but, by virtue of being adverbs, they always fulfil circumstantial roles in the secondary, elaborating clause.

Hypotaxis and expansion: elaboration

(29) *fue testigo presencial y partícipe de las reuniones de los miembros del Mercosur en Ushuaia ni más ni menos que el legendario Nelson Mandela, **quien** estuvo veintisiete años preso por defender los derechos de los ciudadanos negros en Sudáfrica*
'one of the eye witnesses and participants in the meetings of Mercosur members in Ushuaia was no less than the legendary Nelson Mandela, who spent twenty-seven years in prison for defending the rights of black citizens in South Africa'

(30) *La mayoría de los pacientes son niños, **quienes**, además de hacer frente a la desnutrición, tienen que hacer frente a enfermedades tan devastadoras como el paludismo y la tuberculosis*
'Most patients are children, who, besides facing malnutrition, have to face such devastating diseases as malaria and tuberculosis'

(31) *Se dejó una reserva para la dirección, **la cual** ejercería sus correspondientes tareas*
'A reserve was allotted to the board, who would carry out their corresponding tasks'

(32) *Hemos intentado emular a nuestro nuevo reportero, Agapito González, **el cual** ha tenido un éxito realmente importante*

'We have tried to emulate our new reporter, Agapito González, who has had a really important success'

(33) *están presentes en preparados y medicamentos supuestamente homeopáticos, **los cuales** son utilizados para adelgazar*
'they are present in so-called homeopathic medicines, which are used to lose weight'

(34) *en el momento del nacimiento él le donó las células madre de su cordón umbilical, **las cuales** le fueron transfundidas inmediatamente*
'at the time of her birth he donated her the stem cells from his umbilical cord, which were immediately transfused'

(35) *Acudió a BFP – dijo – porque confiaba en los vendedores y en Repsol, **que** parecía el responsable*
'He reported to BFP – he said – because he trusted the sellers and Repsol, who looked in charge'

(36) *Es una fachada hermética, de pocas aperturas, **cuyo** interior ofrece gran transparencia*
'It is an airtight facade, with few openings, whose interior offers great transparency'

(37) *me acerqué por la delegación para saludar a Juan, **a quien** conocía desde hace algún tiempo*
'I stopped by the office to say hello to John, whom I had known for some time'

(38) *. . . afirmaban los voceros, **para quienes** puede llegarse a un grave choque de intereses*
'. . . claimed the spokespeople, according to whom there might eventually be a serious clash'

(39) *Los argumentos de Marchena . . . encontraron la franca simpatía de Brissot, **con cuyas** tesis tenía mucho en común*
'Marchena's arguments . . . met the genuine sympathy of Brissot's, with whose theses he had a lot in common'

(40) *Pero no pudo franquear la puerta del recinto asistencial ni conversar con su director (el coronel Hans Zippelius), **quien** se negó a recibirla*
'Yet she couldn't go through the door of medical premises or speak with its director (Colonel Hans Zippelius), who refused to see her'

(41) *se ha limitado a la práctica de una obstrucción machacona y aburrida sobre pequeños asuntos, **que** a menudo no superan la categoría de anécdotas*

'he's done nothing but put a tiresome and boring hindrance to unimportant issues, which often are nothing more than anecdotes'

(42) *Michael Nyman no evitó contestar al interrogante que existe sobre sus actuales relaciones con el cineasta Peter Greenaway, **para quien** compuso dieciocho bandas sonoras*
'Michael Nyman didn't shun the questions about his current relationship with filmmaker Peter Greenaway, for whom he composed eighteen sound tracks'

(43) *La invitación para convertirse en crupier se hace también a través de la prensa y la radio, **lo que** ha provocado una avalancha de aspirantes*
'The invitation to become a croupier is made also through the press and the radio, which has brought about a flurry of applications'

(44) *la oportunidad que nos brindaron se ha constituido en una firme fuente de trabajo para una veintena larga de profesionales, **lo cual** no es poca cosa*
'the opportunity they gave us has become a reliable source of work for over twenty professionals, which is no trifle'

(45) *También establece la ampliación de la red de autovías en 1,005 kilómetros más . . . y la supresión de puntos negros, **para lo que** se destinarán 33,519 millones*
'It also establishes the expansion of the highway network by 1,005 kilometres . . . and the suppression of black spots, for which 33,519 million will be allocated'

(46) *Su longitud promedia los 500 mm, **con lo que** constituye la especie menor del género Chloephaga*
'Its length averages 500 mm, by which it represents the smallest species in the genus Chloephaga'

(47) *Se puede salvar uno milagrosamente de un accidente, **como** le ocurrió al señor Senador*
'One can miraculously avoid an accident, as happened to Mr Senator'

(48) *El total de 29 trabajadoras se querellaron en 1996 contra la filial de Mitsubishi en EE UU, en la fábrica de Normal (Illinois), **donde** se hacen los modelos Galant y Eclipse*
'A total of 29 workers sued in 1996 the filial company of Mitsubishi's in the US, in the factory of Normal (Illinois), where the models Galant and Eclipse are made'

(49) *Aito ya pedía el primer tiempo con el 19–13, **cuando** ya se veía que sus hombres tendrían muchos problemas ante un rival inspirado*

'Aito called his first time-out at 19–13, when it could already be seen that his men would have a lot of problems against an inspired rival'

The long list of examples presented above aims to convey the wide range of relative nexus available in Spanish. Although this variety sometimes obeys to the necessity to express different meanings, it often is due to reasons of agreement. The latter explains, for instance, the singular relative pronoun *quien* in (29), referring back to *Nelson Mandela* (or in 37, 40, 42), in contrast with its plural form *quienes* in (30) and (38), referring back to *niños* and *voceros*, respectively. Whereas *quien/quienes* are used exclusively with human antecedents, there is no specific relative pronoun to relate back to non-human participants. In such cases, the relative pronouns *el cual, la cual, los cuales, las cuales*, inflected for gender and number, are used, these pronouns being also eligible for use instead of *quien/quienes* with human antecedents. Examples (31–34) illustrate the whole range of inflectional possibilities for this pronoun, the first two referring back to human participants (i.e. *la dirección* and *Agapito González*, respectively) and the other two to non-human participants (i.e. *medicamentos* and *células madre*, respectively). Alternatively, all of these pronouns can be replaced by the gender and number unspecific *que*, which in (35) refers back to *Repsol*, a company; however, this pronoun is less welcome in non-defining than in defining relative clauses, where it is used in overwhelming proportion to its functional equivalents.

One important difference between *que* and its equivalents is that the former cannot replace the latter in prepositional realizations. Thus, whereas *que* could to a larger or a lesser extent replace the relative pronouns (29) through (34), such choice is not available for the realizations of relatives through prepositional phrases in (37) or (38). Example (36) shows the oblique case of the relative pronoun in the genitive, that is, to indicate possession. This form is also inflected for gender and number, (36) illustrating the masculine singular *cuyo*, and (39) the feminine plural *cuyas* in a prepositional phrase.

The relative pronouns *lo que* and *lo cual* are always exchangeable for each other, by which any of the realizations in (43–46), whether as noun group or as prepositional phrase, can swap *lo* que and *lo* cual without restriction. As for relative adverbs, their choice is much more restricted. The three adverbs in (47–49) are basically the only three that can be found as relative nexus in non-defining relative clauses. When the secondary clause is introduced by the relative adverb *donde*, this may be replaced by *en el que, en la que, en los que* or *en las que* ('in which'). Thus, **donde** *se hacen los modelos Galant y Eclipse* in (48) could be re-expressed as **en la cual** *se hacen los modelos Galant y Eclipse.*

Non-defining relative clauses are not always as linear as the examples shown above. When the antecedent does not happen at the end of the primary clause, the secondary clause is enclosed right after its antecedent, as illustrated by (50).

Hypotaxis and expansion: elaboration; secondary clause enclosed

(50) *McLaughlin, **quien** se opuso a los planes de reestructuración del organismo, trabajó en la CIA durante 32 años*
'McLaughlin, who opposed the restructuring plans of the organism, worked for the CIA for 32 years'

We saw *a propos* example (48), above, that relative adverbs of place may be replaced by a relative pronoun in a prepositional phrase. It is sometimes the case that such alternative realization is preceded by a noun which is lexically cohesive with the temporal antecedent, such as *momento, ocasión*, as can be seen in (51). This resource is extended to temporal meaning, as (52) illustrates.

Hypotaxis and expansion: elaboration; relative nexus = noun + prepositional phrase

(51) *Cabe añadir que el informe se preparó en marzo, **momento en el que** sólo se contaba con el índice de precios al consumo de los meses de enero y febrero.*
'It should be added that the report was prepared in March, when (lit. 'time in which') only the January and February consumer price index was available.'

(52) *La Asociación de Defensa Ecológica y del Patrimonio Histórico, Adelpha, ha denunciado la desaparición de un retablo barroco que se encontraba en el palacio de Oriente, **lugar en el que** se encontraba desde hace medio siglo*
'The Association for Ecological and National Heritage Defence, Adelpha, has reported the disappearance of a Baroque altarpiece which was in the Oriental Palace, where (lit. 'place in which') it had been for the last century'

Non-defining relative clauses, the same as their defining counterparts, are pervasive in language, and they can easily cluster in short textual spaces (see Brucart 1999: 469–472 about what he calls '*la acumulación de las cláusulas relativas*' ['the accumulation of relative clauses']). This is illustrated by (57), where the first relative clause in turn embeds its own relative clause. However, the presence of a relative pronoun after a comma in writing or

a pause in speaking does not necessarily imply that the non-defining relative clause is elaborating on the primary clause. As also noted by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 402) for English, it is often the case that the non-defining relative extends, rather than elaborate on, the primary clause.[4] Such is the case in (58), where the secondary clause could be re-expressed as *y éste procedió a interrogarlos* ('and he proceeded to interrogate them').

Hypotaxis and expansion: elaboration; string of non-defining relative clauses

(57) *entre el comercio grande y el pequeño o mediano que adhieren al sistema no podrá haber una brecha en las comisiones que se les cobran superior a tres puntos, **lo cual** tiene por objeto que no exista, como ocurre actualmente, la irrazonable discriminación mencionada, **la cual** va en detrimento y castigo de los pequeños y medianos comerciantes*

'between big and small or middle-sized businesses embracing the system, there will be no gap in the commissions they are charged superior to three points, which has as an objective that there not be, as is currently the case, the afore-mentioned unreasonable discrimination, which exists to the detriment and punishment of small- and medium-sized businesses'

Hypotaxis and expansion: extension (not elaboration but still non-defining relative)

(58) *Al llegar fueron entregados a Cortés, **quien** procedió a interrogarlos*

'Upon arriving they were handed over to Cortés, who then interrogated them'

We saw above that *el cual, la cual*, etc. may be replaced by *que*, although the former are favoured. Still less favoured than non-defining *que* are the realizations *el que, la que, las que, los que* as non-defining relative pronouns, yet they are used on occasions, as illustrated by (59–62). As is the case in (59), in non-defining relative clauses with *al que, la que*, etc., the meaning of clarification may prevail over the more common meaning of description typical of non-defining relative clauses in general (*el que* in [59] clarifies which kidnapper had his voice disseminated, rather than [just] providing a description of the kidnapper).[5]

Hypotaxis and expansion: elaboration; less prototypical realizations

(59) *difundieron la voz de uno de los secuestradores, **el que** parecía ser el líder de la pequeña banda de delincuentes*

'they disseminated the voice of one of the kidnappers, who seemed to be the leader of the small criminal gang'

(60) *una palabra clave es la 'crítica', **la que** significa por lo pronto la posibilidad de reaccionar frente a fenómenos como el consumismo*
'a key word is "criticism", which to start with means the possibility of reacting against phenomena such as consumerism'

(61) *El hecho [. . .] generó el repudio de las fuerzas militares, **las que** afirmaron que el atentado no estaba dirigido a ellos sino a la población civil*
'The fact . . . brought about the condemn of the armed forces, who asserted that the attack was not aimed at them but at the civilian population'

(62) *entre ellos, se cita el uso de ropa o equipo inadecuados [. . .] así como la alta toxicidad de algunos de estos compuestos, **los que** incluso han sido prohibidos en países industrializados*
'among them, they mention the use of inadequate clothes or equipment . . . as well as the high toxicity of some of these compounds, which have even been banned from industrialized countries'

The same as we saw above (58) that not all non-defining clauses elaborate on the primary clause, enhancing elaboration does not necessarily have to happen through a non-defining relative clause. The same kind of elaboration is achieved by non-finite clauses, typically gerundival, such as the ones in (63) and (64). Thus, in (63), the non-finite, secondary clause further describes the deep involvement stated in the primary clause, whereas in (64) it describes the positive implications of the amphibians' feeding on flying insects. Incidentally, the secondary clause in turn contains a *que* relative clause, although of the defining type, as indicated by the lack of comma before the relative.

Hypotaxis and expansion: elaboration; non-finite secondary clause

(63) *Pero la Administración Bush se metió a fondo, **haciendo** todo tipo de presiones y aportando todo el dinero que tenía disponible para que esta negociación se cerrase satisfactoriamente*
'But the Bush Administration got deeply involved, exerting all sorts of pressure and providing all the money available so the negotiation would come to an end satisfactorily'

(64) *Los anfibios atraen mucho ecoturismo, son buenos indicadores de la contaminación en el ambiente, y se alimentan de insectos voladores, **ayudando** así en*

el control de zancudos y otros bichos que transmiten enfermedades en los seres humanos
'amphibians attract a lot of eco-tourism, are good indicators of environmental pollution, and feed on flying insects, thus helping with the control of mosquitoes and other bugs that transmit diseases to humans'

Before concluding this section on hypotactic elaboration, a last remark should be made regarding the nature of the antecedent. In all of the examples used above, the relative pronoun or adverb refers back to either a participant – nuclear or circumstantial – or a whole clause. It may be the case, however, that the antecedent is neither of those but rather a constituent of a group of phrase, notably a modifier. We can see that in (65), below, *que* refers back to *nieto* ('grandson'), which is not an immediate clause constituent but the Complement in the prepositional phrase *del nieto*, which is in turn post-modifier to *mano*. Table 2.1, provides a roundup to the description of elaboration in Spanish clause complexes by showing the prototypical realizations of elaborating nexus.

Hypotaxis and expansion: elaboration; antecedent below group/phrase level
(65) *El viejo profesor salió a la calle cogido de la mano enfundada **del nieto**, **que** de vez en cuando se soltaba para tomar un puñado de nieve y hacer una bola*
'The old teacher went out to the street holding the sheathed hand of his grandson's, who now and then would let go to take a handful of snow and make a ball'

Table 2.1 Realizations of clause nexus in paratactic and hypotactic elaboration

	Parataxis	**Hypotaxis**
Meaning	Exposition, exemplification, clarification	Description, clarification
Realization	*O sea, es decir, por ejemplo, se trata de, para ser más preciso, más bien*, no nexus (juxtaposition)	Relative pronouns [as noun groups or in prepositional phrases]: *que, quien, quienes, el que, la que, las que, los que, el cual, la cual, las cuales, los cuales, lo que, lo cual, cuya, cuyo, cutas, cuyos* Relative adverbs: *donde, cuando, como*

2.2.1.3 Paratactic extension (1+2)

The combination of parataxis and extension results in co-ordination, which in turn has three subgroups, that is, addition (characterized by the use of the conjunction *y* ['and']), variation (characterized by *pero* ['but']) and alternation (characterized by *o* ['either/or']).

In paratactic additive extension, 'one process is simply adjoined to another; there is no implication of any causal or temporal relationship between them' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 406). The examples below illustrate the three subtypes of this category as identified by Halliday and Matthiessen for English and which also apply in Spanish, that is, positive (66, 67), negative (68, 69) and adversative (70, 71). Note that although we have just characterized addition by the use of *y*, this is a rough characterization aiming to highlight the core meaning of this category, as negative and adversative addition tends to resort to other conjunctions (see 68–71). The same remark is valid for *pero* in variation and *o* in alternation.

Parataxis and expansion: extension: additive: positive

(66) *Su voz tenía una desagradable resonancia metálica,* **y** *sus ojos eran vivaces y pequeños*
'Her voice had an unpleasant metallic resonance, and her eyes were lively and small'

(67) *no tengo ningún conocimiento de estas críticas,* **y** *además carecen de fundamento*
'I don't know anything about that criticism, and besides they lack foundation'

Parataxis and expansion: extension: additive: negative

(68) *Ella no usaba peluca,* **ni** *solía viajar en metro*
'She didn't wear a wig, nor used to travel by underground'

(69) **ni** *lo sé* **ni** *me importa*
'I don't know and I don't care' (lit. 'I neither know nor care')

Parataxis and expansion: extension: additive: adversative

(70) *No soy pintora,* **pero** *me gusta hacer cosillas en dedicatorias para amigos o en los autógrafos*
'I'm not a painter, but I like doing little things with dedications to friends or with autographs'

(71) *todos concursan en las mismas condiciones y comparten la oportunidad de llegar a la final, **pero** sus habilidades son diferentes*
'they all participate in the same conditions and share the opportunity to reach the final, but their abilities are different'

The lack of causal or temporal relationship between the primary and the secondary clause inherent to paratactic additive extension can be better seen if compared, for instance, to non-defining relative extensions as (58), above. There we saw that, unlike in extension, there is a temporal transition from the primary *Al llegar fueron entregados a Cortés* ('Upon arriving they were handed over to Cortés') and the secondary ***quien** procedió a interrogarlos* ('who then interrogated them'), which, as stated in footnote 4, implies an enhancing relationship.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 407) draw attention to the fact that the additive: adversative nexus 'but' (*pero*, in Spanish) is not to be confused with the same conjunction used to express a relationship of variation, which will be dealt with below. The additive: adversative nexus links two clauses construing two meanings which coexist – hence the additive meaning: one *and* the other. Thus, in (70) and (71), above, the meanings expressed by the primary clauses *No soy pintora* and *todos concursan . . . a la final* are extended by the *addition* of the meanings expressed by the secondary clauses *me gusta hacer cosillas* and *sus habilidades son diferentes*. Note, incidentally, that the primary clause in (71) is in turn made up of two clauses related by additive: positive *y*.

Turning now to the second type of paratactic extension, that is, variation, we can distinguish two subtypes: replacive and subtractive. Concerning the former, we can see in (72) and (73) that – in contrast with adversative relation, with which it shares the nexus *pero* – the meaning expressed by the secondary clause replaces that expressed by the primary, and so they cannot coexist. Therefore, if the strength of the chemical product referred to by the secondary clause in (72a) is stronger than that of *fentanil*, it cannot at the same time have the same strength, as expressed by the primary clause. In fact, the adverb *erróneamente* points from the beginning to the non-validity of the belief held by the chemists, and this belief is duly debunked by the secondary clause. The replacive relationship can be expressed more markedly by means of the conjunction *sin embargo*, as in (72b), often in combination with *but*, as in (72c). In (73), the replacive meaning is expressed by the conjunction *sino*, which is the realization of this relation in Spanish

whenever the primary clause has negative polarity. In this respect, Spanish behaves unlike languages such as English ('but' for negative and positive polarity) or French (*mais*, also for both polarities), and like other languages such as German (*aber* for positive and *sondern* for negative). Precisely with the nexus *sino*, it is frequent for the secondary clause to have the same verb as the primary clause, and thus leave it unexpressed, as is the case in (74), where not only the verb but also the Complement, are left out (i.e. Complement: *la* + Finite/Predicator: *despierta*).

Parataxis and expansion: extension: variation: replacive:
positive polarity in primary clause

(72a) *los químicos clandestinos "creyeron erróneamente que su potencia era la misma que la del fentanil, **pero** resultó ser 1.000 veces más potente*
'the clandestine chemists "erroneously believed that it had the same strength as *fentanil*, but it turned out to be 1,000 times as strong'

(72b) *es Nueva York y mil novecientos ochenta y seis, **sin embargo**, los negros continúan muriendo*
'This is New York and nineteen-eighty-six, however black people keep dying'

(72c) *No parecía que su lesión fuera muy importante, **pero sin embargo** le va a impedir jugar contra el Athletic*
'It didn't look like a very serious injury, yet it will keep him from playing against Athletic'

Parataxis and expansion: extension: variation: replacive:
negative polarity in primary clause

(73) *En Punta Alta para adquirir un producto no se requiere el pago con dinero en efectivo, **sino** que se puede hacer por medio de un crédito*
'To acquire a product in Punta Alta you are not required to pay cash, *but you can do it by means of loans (. . . cash; you can do it . . .)'

(74) *Porque la mayor violencia no la despierta la conciencia de la grieta, **sino** el difícil puzzle de hacer coincidir la memoria*
'Because the biggest violence does not raise awareness of the breach, but the difficult puzzle of making memory coincide'

The English translation provided for example (73), above, shows that *sino* is not always equivalent to 'but', hence the oddness of the translation provided there. In English, as hinted by the alternative translation provided in brackets, the two clauses are better related by means of juxtaposition, thus

favouring elaboration (expository, in this case) over extension. We will delve into this contrast in section 2.5.

As said above, there is one more type of variative relation within paratactic extension, that is, subtraction. In this relation, as Halliday and Matthiessen point out, 'the secondary clause presents an exception to what has been said in the primary clause' (2004: 407). Note in (75) and (76) that now the meaning of the secondary clause does not replace that of the primary clause, but the former simply hedges the latter. Subtraction and adversative addition can be hard to differentiate, as is the case in (77), where the nexus *pero* may invite one to think that the extension is adversative – variation being ruled out, as there clearly is no replacement involved; however, the secondary clause seems to provide more of an exception than an addition, to the extent that *pero* could arguably be replaced by *solo que*, which suggests that subtraction, rather than adversative addition, is the resource deployed here for building the clause complex.

Parataxis and expansion: extension: variation: subtraction

(75) *Y ayer la rutina fue similar, **solo que** no se desplazaron hasta Luque sino que practicaron en el Club Náutico de San Bernardino a la misma hora*
      'And yesterday the routine was similar, only they didn't go to Luque but practised at the Nautical Club in San Bernardino at the same time'

(76) *¿le dice arquée o arquee? En realidad es lo mismo, porque en las dos escrituras el acento va en la segunda sílaba, **solo que** la tilde es incorrecta*
      'Is he saying "*arquée*" or "*arquee*"? In fact it is the same, because in both spellings the stress falls on the second syllable, only the accent is incorrect'

(77) *Su alcalde es una gran persona, **pero** en algunos momentos ha sido poco tolerante*
      'Their mayor is a great person, but he's been somewhat inflexible at times'

The third major type of paratactic extension is alternation, where 'one clause is presented as an alternative to another' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 407). As (78–79) and (80) respectively show, the alternative nexus may be present in both clauses or only in the secondary.

Parataxis and expansion: extension: alternation

(78) ***O** me cuentas la verdad de estos explosivos **o** te pego un tiro en los testículos*
      'Either you tell me the truth about those explosives or I'll shoot you on your testicles'

(79) *Mil sonoridades surgían del acordeón de Flaco Jiménez, que **ora** parecía un órgano **ora** semejaba una armónica*
'A thousand sounds came out of Flaco Jiménez's accordion, which now looked like an organ, now it looked like a harmonica'

(80) *¿vas a hacer la mili **o** te vas a declarar objetor, insumiso?*
'Are you going to do the military service or are you going to declare yourself objector, unsubmissive?'

2.2.1.4 *Hypotactic extension* (α+β;β+α)

The three kinds of extension, that is, addition, variation and alternation, seen within parataxis are also found in hypotactic relations, as illustrated by examples (81–90), below. The main difference with paratactic extension is that, whereas in clause complexes related by paratactic extension the primary clause always precedes the secondary clause – that is, the order is always 1 ^ 2 – we now find a lot of alternation between α ^ β and β ^ α, as explained at the beginning of this chapter and as the examples below attest.

One additional difference with parataxis is that the secondary clause can now be non-finite, and, in fact, there are subtypes of hypotactic extension, namely adversative addition and replacive variation, whose realization is exclusively non-finite, as respectively illustrated by (85) and (86) below. Precisely this non-finiteness is on occasions the only factor that differentiates a hypotactic relation from its equivalent paratactic, as is the case with subtractive variation, where the nexus is *sino* for both tactic relations (see 89 below and compare with 73, 74 above).

In additive extension, only positive and adversative meanings can be expressed, the negative being circumscribed to the paratactic. As seen in (81, 82), when the secondary clause is finite, the positive and the adversative meanings are blended; thus in (81), for instance, *mientras que* could to a larger or a lesser extent be replaced by either *y* ('and') or *pero* ('but'). If either of those two replacements were enacted, though, the resulting tactic relation would be a paratactic one (additive with *y*, adversative with *pero*). That *mientras que* expresses a hypotactic relation can be seen in the fact that the secondary clause it introduces may precede the primary clause, as is the case in (82). The latter example, therefore, cannot have its nexus replaced with *y* or *pero*, as the paratactic nature of these nexus precludes the secondary clause from preceding the primary. Although the notion of reversibility, as will be seen later, comes into its own as a criterion to tell hypotaxis from

parataxis within the logico-semantic resource of enhancement, it is a fact that reversibility is also pervasive within hypotactic extension, as the examples used in this section will illustrate.

Hypotaxis and expansion: extension: addition: positive/adversative;
secondary clause finite

(81) *Curioso planeta éste en el que de un lado es siempre de día, **mientras que** en el otro siempre reina la oscuridad eternamente*
'Curious planet this is in which on one side there is always daylight, while darkness reigns eternally on the other'

(82) ***Mientras que** los cables convencionales transmiten 1,500 llamadas simultáneas entre las diferentes centrales, la fibra óptica puede transportar 365,000 comunicaciones*
'Whereas conventional cables transmit 1,500 simultaneous calls among the different switchboards, fibre optic can carry 365,000 communications'

When the secondary clause is non-finite, as in (83–85), the positive and the adversative meanings are clearly differentiated. Thus, whereas the positive (83, 84) add, and only add, one meaning onto another, in the adversative (85) the secondary clause could easily be replaced by a paratactic-making *pero no sabe por qué* ('but they do not know why'). In non-finite addition, as illustrated by (84), it is common for the relation to exist without a conjunctive nexus, the additive meaning being expressed by the juxtaposition of a gerundival non-finite clause to the primary clause.

Hypotaxis and expansion: extension: addition: positive;
secondary clause non-finite

(83) *Russell, **además de** ser matemático lleno de humor, es también pensador, humanista, ensayista, literato*
'Russell, besides being a mathematician with a lot of humour, is also a thinker, a humanist, an essayist, a writer'

(84) *Las áreas más tratadas por los autores del Seminario son: Análisis, Historia de la Matemática y Geometría; **representando** estos temas casi las tres cuartas partes de la producción de esta Institución*
'The areas most widely covered by the seminar authors are: Analysis, History of Mathematics and Geometry; with these topics representing almost three-fourths of this Institution's production'

Hypotaxis and expansion: extension: addition: adversative; secondary clause non-finite

(85) *hay gente que envidia a los profesores **sin** saber por qué*
      'there are people who envy teachers without knowing why'

In the variative type, we find the same two subtypes as in the paratactic, that is, replacement and subtraction. The former finds its realization only through non-finite secondary clauses, typically introduced by the conjunction *en vez de*, as in (86) below. On the other hand, in subtraction the β-clause may be finite, when introduced by *a excepción de que* or *excepto que* (87 and 88, respectively), or non-finite, as in (89), in which case it always includes the conjunction *sino*. Note how the meaning of *a excepción de que/ excepto que* is very similar to that of their paratactic equivalent *solo que*. Once again, the immobility of the latter bespeaks its paratactic nature as opposed to the higher mobility of the former, even if, as shown in (87, 88), this hypotactic relation tends to happen with the secondary clause in second position (although both 87 and 88 could perfectly be reversed, the resulting clause complexes would be highly marked). Concerning the non-finite, it is worth remarking that the same conjunction used to express subtractive meaning, that is, *sino*, expresses a relation of replacement in the paratactic. Note, however, that, unlike in (73, 74) above, in (89) there is no replacement involved but rather the idea of exception that characterizes subtraction: *no se puede hacer nada excepto esperar* ('one can do nothing except wait').

Hypotaxis and expansion: extension: variation: replacement; secondary clause non-finite

(86) *se dieron cuenta de que, **en vez de** conformarse con las migajas, ellos podían comerse el pastel completo sin darle ni una tajada al rey*
      'they realized that, instead of contenting themselves with the crumbs, they could eat the whole pie without giving the king a single slice'

Hypotaxis and expansion: extension: variation: subtraction; secondary clause finite

(87) *De sus costumbres no es mucho lo que se sabe, **a excepción de que** se mueve en bandadas en ambientes selváticos continuos o con isletas de monte*
      'About its habits, not much is known, except that it moves in groups in continuous wild environments or in small forests'

(88) *Nada parece seguro **excepto que** la población de Internautas en los hogares crecerá por lo menos al doble*

'Nothing looks certain except that the internet users population will grow to at least double'

Hypotaxis and expansion: extension: variation: subtraction; secondary clause non-finite

(89) *Son horas en las que ya no se puede hacer nada **sino** esperar*
      'Those are times when one can do nothing other than wait'

We now look at alternation, which in Spanish is only manifested through finite secondary clauses with the negative conjunction *si no*, such as (90). Two remarks should be made here. First, *si no* must not be confused with the above-seen subtractive *sino*. Although their meanings are clearly differentiated, it is a fact that even native speakers sometimes struggle with the different spellings when writing. In the second place, the presence of *si* should not sidetrack us into believing that we are in the presence of a conditional sentence. Conditionals – whose prototypical conjunction is *si* (*si no* in the negative) – will be dealt with within enhancement. In the case of alternative *si no*, the clause in which it partakes, which typically starts the clause complex, does not establish a condition for the fulfilment of the primary clause but rather expresses a situation, action or event which is alternative to the one in the primary clause, the latter being the result of the eventual non-fulfilment of the former. The paratactic *o . . . o* ('either . . . or') meaning heavily underlies these hypotactic alternative relations. The same can be said of the clause complex in (91) only this time the realization is through conjunction *de no* plus non-finite clause. Table 2.2 provides a synoptic view of the prototypical realizations of extending nexus.

Hypotaxis and expansion: extension: alternation: secondary clause finite

(90) *Y **si no** se encuentra, hay que inventarlo*
      'And if one doesn't find it, then it has to be invented'

Hypotaxis and expansion: extension: alternation: secondary clause non-finite

(91) ***De no** encontrase una salida legal que permita deducir el aporte a la Sudeban del pago del impuesto los bancos, no entregarán recursos adicionales al organismo*
      'If no legal solution can be found that allows the deduction of the payment to the Sudeban from the tax paid to banks, they will not give the organization additional resources'

Table 2.2 Realizations of clause nexus in paratactic and hypotactic extension

	Parataxis			Hypotaxis		
	Addition	Variation	Alternation	Addition	Variation	Alternation
Meaning Realization	[pos:] *y*, [neg:] *ni, ni . . . ni* [adv:] *pero*	[repl:] *pero, sino* [sub:] *solo que*	*O, o . . . o, ora . . . ora, bien . . . bien*	[pos/adv:] *mientras que*, [pos:] *además de*, juxta-posed non-finite, [adv:] *sin*	[repl:] *en vez de, en lugar de*, [sub:] *excepto que, a excepción de que, sino*	*Si no, de no*

2.2.1.5 Paratactic enhancement (1×2)

Enhancement is the most productive of expansion resources in terms of the variety of meanings that can be expressed through it. As said at the beginning of this chapter, those meanings include circumstantial features of place, manner, cause or condition. Within parataxis we find a pervasive use of the conjunction *y* ('and'), typically followed by an adverbial group that adds the corresponding circumstantial meaning. Such is the case in the temporal enhancement illustrated by (92–96), where the Adjuncts follow the conjunction to reinforce the meaning that would otherwise be more subliminally understood. We say *subliminally understood* because all clause complexes (92–96) could be realized without the accompanying Adjuncts, and the resulting meaning would still be the same. It should be borne in mind, however, that when the adverbial Adjunct is realized, as in all examples (92–96), the nexus is still simply the conjunction *y*, the Adjunct having an experiential role, that is, circumstance, within the secondary clause. In the examples below we have, however, emboldened both the conjunction and the adverbial group so as to draw the attention to both the nexus and its semantic reinforcement.

Within temporal enhancement, the situation, action or event construed by the secondary clause may be expressed to take place at the same time as the one in the primary clause, in which the temporal enhancement is said to be convergent, as in (92, 93) or at a different time, in which case it is divergent, as in (94–96). It is sometimes the case, however, that it is not very clear whether the temporal meanings are convergent or divergent, notably when the conjunction *y* is followed by *entonces* ('then'), since this adverb may mean 'at that time' or 'right after' (or 'at that time and after'). If we

look at (93), for instance, we can see that, even if it has been included within convergent temporal enhancement, it could be argued both that *Marcelo Gallardo*'s new chance arose on the occasion of his team-mates injuries or right after such injuries and as a result thereof. Conversely, (94) illustrates a clause complex where the divergent meaning brought about by *entonces* is arguably more clear-cut, even if it can never be as clearly divergent as when the adverb following the conjunction is *después* ('after that'), as in (95), or when the experience construed by the secondary clause takes place earlier than that of the primary clause, as in (96).

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent

(92) *el resto se queda todavía al costado de la ruta, **y mientras tanto** se dedican a cazar animales y otras cosas*
      'the rest is still on the side of the route, and meanwhile occupy themselves with animal-hunting and other things'

(93) *Y se lesionaron Ortega, también Pablito Aimar, **y entonces** la nueva chance para Marcelo Gallardo*
      'And Ortega, as well as Pablito Aimar, were injured, and then (there was) a new chance for Marcelo Gallardo'

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: divergent: later

(94) *La gente volverá a ponerse alpargatas **y entonces** volverá la alegría a esta casa*
      'People will wear espadrilles again and then happiness will return to this home'

(95) *El 5 de noviembre se fue al cine con su novia **y después** se fueron al Mirador de Carretera Sur*
      'On 5 November he went to the cinema with his girlfriend and then they went to the Mirador de Carretera Sur'

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: divergent: earlier

(96) *Isabel era ayudante tuya **y antes** había sido tu alumna*
      'Isabel was your assistant and had before been your student'

In spatial enhancement, *y* is again the default conjunction, but in this case, conversely to what we saw for temporal nexus, the presence of the adverbial group accompanying the conjunction is necessary for the relationship between the two clauses to be understood as one of space. If, for instance, the adverb *allí* ('there') were removed from (97), the resulting relationship would look like one of time rather than space (i.e. *entonces* ('then'), rather than *allí* would be presupposed.

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: spatial

(97) *les condujeron a la calle **y allí** les dispararon en la cabeza*
       'they led them to the street and there shot them on the head'

Logico-semantic manner comprises means and comparison (we will see in Chapter 3 that manner within circumstantial transitivity includes more categories). Once again, we can see the pervasiveness of *y* as a paratactic enhancing conjunction, as all examples (98–100) contain that nexus followed by a circumstantial Adjunct of manner. Once again, the removal of the adverbial group would make the nexus lose its specific meaning: in (98, 99), it would look more temporal than anything else, and in the comparative (100), where we can see a string of comparatively related clauses, the comparative enhancing meaning would be seriously undermined without the adverbial expressions. The combination *y de igual modo* ('and similarly') used in (100) contrasts with *de igual modo que* ('the way'), which is hypotactic (see below) and may therefore be placed in clause-complex-initial position.

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: manner: means

(98) *La pena máxima la ejecutó Leiva **y de esta manera** llegó el único tanto del partido*
       'The penalty kick was shot by Leiva and thus happened the only goal in the match'

(99) *La Policía alemana detuvo a cinco personas como responsables directos de la matanza **y así** se pudo saber que el sexto hombre era Abulgassem*
       'The German police arrested five people as directly responsible for the carnage and thus it was known that the sixth man was Abulgassem'

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: manner: comparison

(100) *Así lo pensaron los propios conquistadores, así lo conceptuaron los reyes [. . .], **y de igual modo** lo entendieron los frailes, **y así** lo pensó el pueblo*
        'Thus thought the conquistadors themselves, thus conceptualized it the kings [. . .], and similarly understood the friars, and thus thought the people'

The last group to be deal with within paratactic enhancement is that of causal-conditional relationships. Causal and conditional nexus are grouped together because the fulfilment of a condition is supposed to trigger, that is, to cause, the coming into being of the situation, action or event expressed by the primary clause in the clause complex. Cause and condition are,

therefore, the two large groups making up this category. Within the former, we can distinguish relations of reason and result. In turn, reason may be expressed as moving from cause to effect, as in (101, 102) or vice verse, as in (103, 104). The secondary clause in the first of these two directions has traditionally been called a *consecutive* clause (see, for example, RAE 1986: 552), causal meaning having been more typically associated with effect ^ cause. Something that stands out in the logico-semantic expression of reason is that, for the first time since we have been looking at enhancement, relationships prototypically use nexus other than *y*, as (101–104) show. Secondary clauses introduced by *por lo que* may look like relative clauses, yet the meaning of reason prevails as can be seen by the fact that *por lo que* could be replaced by *así que* with no noticeable change of meaning. In effect ^ cause relationships, the prototypical nexus are *pues* and *porque*, as in (103) and (104) below, respectively. Besides the already mentioned contrast before paratactic *pues* and hypotactic *puesto que*, it should be noticed that the conjunction *porque* is sometimes found at the beginning of the clause complex, that is, the secondary clause precedes the primary. However, as will be seen below, that use of *porque* corresponds to a different kind of logico-semantic relationship, namely hypotactic concession.

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause: reason: cause ^ effect

(101) *y la disciplina es la disciplina, **así que** prepárese para irse con toda la gente*
'and discipline is discipline, so get ready to leave with everybody'

(102) *Lo que pasa es que no tenemos la resolución, **por lo que** no sabemos de qué se está hablando*
'What happens is that we don't have the resolution, and so we don't know what they're talking about'

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause: reason: effect ^ cause

(103) *Mucha gente cree que no tiene sentido votar **pues** ya se sabe quién va a ganar*
'Many people think it makes no sense to vote for it is already known who's going to win'

(104) *La fotografía de reportaje ha muerto **porque** ya no queda nada por fotografiar*
'Feature photography is dead because there is nothing left to photograph'

Paratactic resultative enhancement is semantically very close to cause: reason: cause ^ effect. The main difference is that – as the nomenclatures indicate – in the case of cause: result there arguably is a stronger focus on the result, that is, what is expressed by the secondary clause, than on the cause, that is, what is expressed by the primary clause. In addition, result, unlike reason, tends to be expressed by the conjunction *y*, that is, like so many other enhancing relationships. This can be seen in (105), where *y* can be understood as *y como consecuencia* ('and as a consequence') or *y como resultado* ('and as a result').

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause: result

(105) *Yo no sabía qué hacer **y** me fui donde don Guillermo Cano a consultarle qué hacía con la caja*
        'I didn't know what to do and (so) I went to don Gulliermo Cano's to consult what to do about the box'

When we come back to causal relationships within hypotaxis, we will encounter one more type of cause, that is, purpose, which is not available paratactically. It is therefore the time now to move from cause to condition, where three large groups are available: positive, negative and concessive. Positive condition again finds *y* as the main vehicle of expression, often accompanied by an adverbial expression reinforcing the meaning of the relation, as is patent in (106) and (107). The nexus *en cuyo caso* in (108), quite frequent in the expression of positive condition, could be taken for a relative expression, due to the inclusion of the possessive relative *cuyo* ('whose'). However, we can see that the meaning of condition prevails, as (108) is equivalent to *si tienen 53 o 54 años podrán acogerse . . .* ('if they are 53 or 54, they'll be entitled to . . .').

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: positive

(106) *Alegaba que de este modo ella ganaría confianza en el equipo tratante **y entonces** podría seguir el tratamiento tal como se le indicara*
        'She adduced that this way she would gain confidence in the team treating her and then could follow the treatment as indicated'

(107) *no sólo Estados Unidos sino también Europa, aplicarían sanciones, **y en ese caso** Colombia podría llegar a perder cualquier posible aliado político y comercial en el mundo desarrollado*

'not only the United States but also Europe would apply sanctions, and then Columbia could lose all of its political and commercial allies in the developed world'

(108) *Además, los trabajadores que en la fecha señalada tengan 53 ó 54 años podrán acogerse a una baja incentivada voluntaria, **en cuyo caso** pasarán a recibir una pensión de entre el 64.5% y el 65.5% de su salario bruto*
'Besides, those workers who on the indicated date are 53 or 54 years old will be entitled to voluntary early retirement, and then will get a pension equivalent to 64.5% to 65.5% of their gross salary'

The complex conjunction *si no,* often preceded by *y,* is the typical nexus for the expression of negative condition, as is the case in (109) and (110). This *si no* differs from its homonym in alternative extension in that the *no* component in the alternative conjunction negates the verb it precedes (see 90, above) whereas here the negation refers back to the verb in the primary clause (i.e. *son* ['are'], in (109) below). The presence of the comma may invite us to think that we are in the face of an elliptical hypotactic (i.e. *si no son positivas* . . . ['if they're not positive . . .']), but if the primary clause were negative, this would be impossible, as attested by (110), where we could not say: *si no no hubiera sido un conocido común* . . . ('if he had not not been a mutual acquaintance . . .'). Often, *si no* is preceded by *porque* ('because'), as in (110) or *pues* ('for'), as in (111). Although these conjunctions are causal (see 103, 104, above), the conditional prevails over the causal meaning. Note that it is precisely for that tight bond between the concepts of cause and condition that, following Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 411), we speak of a large group of causal-conditional relationships, rather than of two distinct groups.

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
condition: negative

(109) *Si estas experiencias son positivas, comenzaremos el año que viene con los trasplantes de órganos a seres humanos, **y si no**, tendremos que esperar por lo menos dos o tres años*
'If these experiments are positive, we'll start next year with the organ transplants on human beings, otherwise we'll have to wait at least two or three years'

(110) *no debía de tratarse de un conocido común, porque **si no** me lo hubiera advertido*

'it can't have been a mutual acquaintance, (because) otherwise he
would have pointed it out to me'

(111) *De allí mi discrepancia esencial, pues **de otro** modo el concepto de límite
se pierde*
'Hence my initial discrepancy, as otherwise the concept of limit
gets lost'

Concessive condition is typically expressed by the conjunctions *y* or *pero*
followed by the adverbial expression *aun así* ('still', lit. 'even so'), as in
(112) and (113), respectively. As in the other cases discussed, the adverbial
following *y* serves to reinforce the intended logico-semantic meaning, in
this case concession. On the other hand, when it follows *pero* the resulting
relationship is very close to the additive: adversative, from which it differs
thanks precisely to the inclusion of the adverbial (note how *aun* is morpho-
logically related to *aunque*, which, as will be seen further below, is the proto-
typical nexus of hypotactic concession.[6]

Parataxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
condition: concessive

(112) *Tienen que unirse para sobrevivir, **y aun así** no están resueltos los problemas*
'They have to get together in order to survive, and even so their
problems are not solved'

(113) *Caso de lucir el sol hubieran llegado muchos más, **pero aun así** pasaron lar-
gamente de los dos mil*
'Had the sun shone, a lot more would have arrived; still there were
largely over two thousand'

2.2.1.6 *Hypotactic enhancement* (α×β;β×α)

Within hypotactic enhancement we find the same categories as within para-
tactic enhancement, that is, temporal, spatial, manner and cause-condition.
As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 416) point out, hypotactically enhanc-
ing secondary clauses are those that have traditionally been referred to as
adverbial clauses.[7] The same as in extension, hypotaxis is more complex here
than parataxis because the secondary clauses may choose between finite
and non-finite realizations. Regarding the subdivisions within each of the
four categories mentioned, we will see that, although the hypotactic roughly
correspond to the paratactic ones, there are a few which only find either a

paratactic or a hypotactic realization. To this, we have to add an essential difference not only between paratactic and hypotactic enhancing clause complexes but also between the latter and the rest of expansion, that is, hypotactic enhancement is the realm of the Subjunctive – at least the realm within expansion, the other being within some kinds of projection, as will be seen. If we go back to examples (21–113), that is, those used to illustrate expansion so far, all of them contain clauses with verbs in a mood other than the Subjunctive, typically the Indicative. There is only one example, that is (110), in which we find the Subjunctive form *hubiera advertido.* However, as the English translation provided suggests ('would have pointed out'), this is not a Subjunctive proper but an alternative realization to a conditional: the Subjunctive form *hubiera* is here equivalent to, and formal substitute for, the conditional *habría* (see López García 1996: 138–139 for a list of examples with *hubiera/habría* alternation).

When we first took a look at hypotactic enhancing relationships at the beginning of this chapter, we listed six clause complexes (15–20), four out of which contain a verb in the Subjunctive in the secondary clause. The morphological nuances of the Spanish moods are dealt with in Chapters 4 and 5 – only to a certain extent, as this is a book looking at the clause as the basic unit of description. In the description that follows, we identify and indicate the different moods that characterize the subtypes of hypotactic enhancing relations.

We go back, then, to the first kind of enhancing relationships seen above, that is, temporal, only we do it from a hypotactic point of view this time. As in hypotactic extension, secondary clauses may be realized finitely or non-finitely, and as in the case of paratactic enhancement parataxis, the temporal enhancing clause may refer to the same time as the primary clause, a later time or a prior time. One thing that stands out in hypotactic enhancement is that when the secondary clause is non-finite, the nexus is often a preposition. This makes sense given the circumstantial nature of these clauses: the same as Circumstances in a clause can be realized by a prepositional phrase, circumstantial clauses can also be introduced by a preposition, which in these cases functions as a conjunction.

Convergent temporal enhancement is expressed through a number of nexus that, together with the verb of the secondary clause, convey different nuances of meaning. Thus, *cuando* ('when'), as in (114), indicates a more punctual temporal convergence than *mientras* ('while'), associated with extent, as in (115). In turn, *siempre que* ('whenever') expresses an iterative meaning, typically with verbs indicating punctual actions, as in (116). These nuances become rather blurred when the secondary clause is non-finite.

Although the semantic nature of the non-finite verb still determines the overall punctual, extensive or iterative meaning of the clause, the temporal convergence expressed by the nexus tends to fall towards the punctual cline, as a look at (117a, 117b) attests. The temporal use of the preposition *al* followed by Infinitive (lit. corresponding to English *on/upon* + Gerund) is a much exploited resource in the Spanish system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC relationships. This is not the only logico-semantic use of that preposition, which we will come across again in causal-conditional enhancement.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent: secondary clause finite

(114) ***cuando*** *duermo sufro más que cuando estoy despierto*
       'when I'm sleeping, I suffer more than when I'm awake'

(115) *Ella, como mi madre, solía conversar **mientras** cosía*
       'She, like my mother, used to chat while she sewed'

(116) *Ahora **siempre que** viene le trae una rosa blanca*
       'Now, whenever he comes here, he brings her a white rose'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent: secondary clause non-finite

(117a) *Zaracho, **a la vez de** ser jubilado, ejerció varios cargos administrativos dentro de la función pública*
        'Zaracho, while being retired, held several administrative posts in the public function'

(117b) *se hizo famoso **al** preguntar a sus revoltosos colegas si querían una disputa o un presupuesto*
        'he became famous when asking his fidgety colleagues whether they wanted a quarrel or a budget'

There are a couple of observations to be made regarding the most frequent of convergent temporal nexus, that is, *cuando*. First, it is often the case that one of the events expressed in the clause complex happens while the other event is taking place, rather than both of them coexisting in time from beginning to end. We can see in (118a), for instance, that Arriazu's arrest is presented as a punctual action taking place during an extensive activity, that is, that of walking, which had been going on for some time before (in this particular case we can safely assume that the walking ends with the arrest, but with many other punctual actions, the background activity

may continue, for example, if the Actor had been asked for an autograph instead of being arrested). Note that we have avoided speaking of primary and secondary clauses here, the reason being that in these clause complexes combining punctual actions with extent, either clause may qualify for expressing either kind of temporal meaning, depending on informational constraints. Thus, whereas in (118a) the punctual action is realized in the primary clause, in (118b) the primary clause expresses the extent while the punctual meaning is found in the secondary. This, however, does not mean that this kind of clause complexes can be expressed either way, without a change in meaning. As has just been said, informational constraints, which depend on the textual metafunction and are therefore described in Chapter 5, motivate the arrangement of this kind of temporal relationship. This means that, for the primary clause to become the secondary and vice versa, the contextual conditions must be different, too.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent: primary clause punctual, secondary clause extent

(118a) *Arriazu fue detenido tiempo después, **cuando** paseaba por la calle*
    'Arriazu was arrested some time later, when he was walking on the street'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent: primary clause extent, secondary clause punctual

(118b) *Estaba sentado junto a mi novia **cuando** de repente oí una inmensa explosión*
    'I was sitting next to my girlfriend when I suddenly heard an immense explosion'

The second observation to be made about temporal enhancing relationships realized by *cuando* is that it is not always clear whether such relationship is convergent or divergent, as *cuando* covers a relatively wide range of meaning from *al mismo tiempo que* ('at the same time as') or *mientras* ('while') to *tan pronto como* ('as soon as') or (*justo*) *después de* ('[right] after'). The adverbial conjunction in (114), above, is replaceable with *mientras*, hence the inclusion of the clause complex in convergent temporal enhancement. Conversely, it is hard to tell whether *cuando* in (119), below, relates the two clauses in the complex in a convergent or in a divergent way, as the only substitute there could be *tan pronto como llegue a mi casa . . .* ('as soon as I get home . . .'), that is, divergent, but the general idea of simultaneity seems to prevail. We can compare this with (120), which illustrates a more clearly

divergent use of the nexus, as it could be re-phrased as *después de levantarse* . . . ('after getting up . . .'). Examples (121) and (122) show other typical nexus used to express the kind of temporal relationship under consideration. As we can see, (121) includes a Subjunctive form (*detectasen*). We will say a few words about the use of this mood in temporal enhancement once we have covered the different kinds of temporal relationships. As for secondary non-finite clauses, examples (123, 124) include some of the most typical realizations with a nexus, while (125, 126) show an also frequent realization, only this time not with a conjunctive nexus followed by an infinitival clause but through a participial clause without nexus. This construction is reminiscent of the Latin ablative absolute, having kept its temporal meaning (See RAE 1986: 497 for the circumstantial meaning of time of these absolute clauses). As (126) illustrates, the participial clause is often preceded by an adverbial reinforcement, notably *una vez* ('once').

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent/divergent: secondary clause finite

(119) ***cuando*** *llegue a mi casa me va a echar una bronca mi madre*
       'when I get home, my mother will bite my head off'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: divergent: later: secondary clause finite

(120) *Al otro día,* ***cuando*** *se levantó, Fidel encontró una nota en la cocina*
       'The next day, when he got up, Fidel saw a note in the kitchen'

(121) *Tres extranjeros [. . .] se negaron a ser sometidos a ningún tratamiento,* ***después de que*** *se les detectasen cápsulas en el estómago*
       'Three foreigners . . . refused to undergo any treatment, after capsules were detected in their stomachs'

(122) *Están ustedes montados en el dólar* ***desde que*** *han abierto este negocio*
       'You've become very rich since you opened this business'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: divergent: later: secondary clause non-finite

(123) *La atmósfera hostil se agravó* ***después de*** *partir de las Canarias*
       'The hostile atmosphere worsened after leaving the Canaries'

(124) ***tras*** *cerciorarse de que nadie lo veía, se empinó y se inclinó hacia adelante para mirar al interior*

'after making sure that no one was seeing him, he went on his toes and leaned forward to look inside'

(125) **Terminadas** *las navidades, han empezado a llegar las cuentas*
'(Once) Christmas (is) ended, bills have begun to come'

(126) *lo mejor acaeció en un café de esquina* **una vez terminadas** *las sesiones formales*
'the best happened at a corner café once the formal sessions were over'

The prototypical nexus for temporal: divergent: earlier hypotactic enhancement is *antes de que* ('before'), as in (127). Notice how it is the presence of the conjunction *que* that determines the finite nature of the secondary clause, as opposed to non-finite secondary clause when the nexus is simply the prepositional *antes de*, as in (131), further below. This is exactly the same contrast as the one existing between *hasta que* and *hasta* (128, 130), as well as between *después de que* and *después de*, seen above in (121) and (123), respectively. When the nexus is *hasta que* ('until/till') with a negative primary clause as in (128), it is very common for native speakers to unnecessarily (and, in a way, counterlogically) give negative polarity to the secondary clause, too. Thus, (128) will more often than not be expressed as *pero no me lo tome en serio hasta que no me ofrecieron el papel*. This is due to an interference from the equivalent nexus *mientras no* (lit. 'while not'), as in example (129). As a matter of fact, (128) could be re-expressed *no me lo tome en serio mientras no me ofrecieron el papel*, whereas (129) could also be re-phrased as *no se puede tocar nada hasta que venga el official*. Realizations with *mientras no* are in fact formally convergent – due to the meaning of the nexus – but pragmatically divergent, as attested by their interchangeability with *hasta que*. Examples (130–132) show typical non-finite realizations. As can be seen, (131) is one more case of ablative absolute, but in this case it is preceded by a preposition, that is, *hasta*, which does not reinforce the meaning, as was the case with the adverb *una vez* in (126), above, but, on the contrary, changes the temporal relationship from 'later' to 'earlier'.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: divergent: earlier: secondary clause finite

(127) *concilió un sueño breve, lleno de grumos,* **antes de que** *sonara el despertador,*
'He fell into a brief slumber, full of lumps, before the alarm clock went off',

(128)   *Pero no me lo tomé en serio **hasta que** me ofrecieron el papel*
        'But I didn't take it seriously until they offered me the part'

(129)   *No se puede tocar nada **mientras no** venga el oficial*
        'You can't touch anything while the official is not here'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: divergent: earlier: secondary clause non-finite

(130)   *Luego se copia hacia abajo **hasta** completar la tabla de puntos*
        'one then copies downwards till completing the dotted table'

(131)   *Por esta razón se deben hacer controles semestrales o anuales de los pacientes **hasta terminado** el crecimiento.*
        'For this reason, biyearly or yearly checks must be made on patients till the growth (is) finished'

(132)   *Aprovechó para ir de compras **antes de** tomar el vuelo de vuelta a casa*
        'he took advantage of the situation to go shopping before taking the flight back home'

As said above, the time has come to devote some attention to the Subjunctive versus Indicative issue, in the light of what the examples of hypotactic temporal enhancing constructions just handled reveal and in advance of what we will find in the description of the other enhancing categories. The first thing we must say about the Subjunctive/Indicative choice is that, from a logico-semantic point of view, this choice is not as meaningful within expansion as it will prove to be within projection. Suffice it to look at the uses of Subjunctive in the examples above, namely (119), (121), (127) and (129). In the first of these examples, the Subjunctive expresses the non-factuality of the action it refers to: *llegue* (Subjunctive form of 'arrive') indicates that the arrival has not taken or is not taking place yet, and, most importantly, it does not make a case that the arrival *will* take place. It rather takes the (future happening of the) arrival for granted, removing it from truth-value parameters, on the way, we could say, to pronominalization: *cuando llegue* is quite close in meaning to *a mi llegada* ('upon my arrival'). The key here is that, as expressed by the latest parenthetical phrase, the taken for granted action is one to take place in the future. Thus, if we were speaking of an already happened event, the secondary clause in (119) and (129) would be realized in the Indicative: *cuando llegué* and *mientras no vino*, respectively. In (127), the ringing of the alarm clock has already happened with respect to our 'here and now' but not with respect to the slumbering

act described in the primary clause, hence the use of the Subjunctive. In this case, however, there is no possibility to express the secondary clause in the Indicative because the meaning of the nexus *antes de que* conditions the temporal sequence, that is, the event in the secondary clause cannot have happened before that in the primary clause. Conversely, in a clause complex such as (128), if the secondary clause referred to a future time, the realization would not be *hasta que me ofrecieron* but the Subjunctive *hasta que me ofrezcan.*

The other typical use of the Subjunctive in expansion, namely that illustrated by (121), is in fact a meaningless choice in the Spanish of our time, as it can be replaced with the Indicative without any noticeable change in meaning or use. Thus, the secondary clause **después de que** *se les detectasen cápsulas en el estómago* could be re-phrased as **después de que** *se les detectaron/ hubieron detectado cápsulas en el estómago*, that is, with the verb in Past Simple Indicative or Past Perfect Indicative.

This may look like a desultory treatment of the complex Subjunctive versus Indicative issue, mostly considering the thousands of pages that have been devoted to this subject in the literature.[8] However, as we will see in the examples illustrating our discussion of the other hypotactic enhancing categories, this is more than enough for the specific area of the grammar we are considering right now. As said above, things get more complex when projection is involved. And then there are other uses of the Subjunctive which do not depend on logico-semantic criteria; these are dealt with in Chapter 4, *a propos* MOOD systems within the interpersonal metafunction.

We move on now to the description of spatial enhancement, where the same nuances of meaning are found as in temporal enhancement. Thus, clause complexes such as (135) include a spatial relation of extent, whereas those like (136) and (137) contain a punctual and an iterative relation, respectively. Spatial enhancing nexus are more limited in number and variety than temporal ones, as secondary clauses are always finite here and, therefore, all nexus are adverbial. As (135–137) illustrate, hypotactic temporal relationships are basically expressed by means of the conjunction *donde* ('where') or variations thereon (*hasta donde, dondequiera . . .*). As for the Subjunctive/Indicative choice, note how the only Subjunctive form, in (136), is motivated by the taking for granted of the *querer* ('want') act as background to the meaning expressed by the primary clause, that is, *Ponlo* ('put it'). Once again, if we were referring to a past event, the secondary clause would have its verb in the Indicative: *lo puse donde quise* ('I put it where(ever) I wanted').[9]

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: spatial

(135) *He prestado mis servicios **hasta donde** mi capacidad me lo permite*
       'I've rendered service as far as my capacity permits'

(136) *Ponlo **donde** tú quieras*
       'Put it wherever you want'

(137) ***dondequiera** que voy, recibo el homenaje de hombres y mujeres*
       'Everywhere I go, I receive the homage of men and women'

Hypotactic manner is to a great extent dominated by the adverbial con-junction *como* ('as', 'like'), which means that most cases within this category belong to the 'comparison' subtype. As a matter of fact, there are no hypotactic nexus to express 'means' proper; however, as illustrated by (138), temporal secondary clauses realized by *al* + Infinitive often have what may safely be identified as a manner: means meaning. Other than that, the only way to expand the clause is through the use of a gerundival non-finite sec-ondary clause without any sort of conjunction or preposition, as in (139).

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: manner:
means; secondary clause non-finite

(138) *se activa **al** pulsar sobre el aspa situada en la esquina superior izquierda de la ventana*
       'It is activated by clicking (lit. "when pressing") on the cross on the top left corner of the window'

(139) *Elija el dato que desea cambiar **apretando** el botón MODE*
       'Choose the data you wish to change by pressing the MODE button'

In contrast with the scarcity of resources available for expressing means hypotactically, the expression of comparison offers a wide range of possibil-ities, always pivoting, as said above and as shown in (140–144) below, around *como*. The first thing to be said is that comparative *como* is not clearly differ-entiated from relative *como* (see López García 1996: 209–211), as can be appreciated by comparing (140) below with (47) above (*Se puede salvar uno milagrosamente de un accidente, como le ocurrió al señor Senador* ['One can miracu-lously avoid an accident, as happened to Mr Senator']). Since non-defining relative clauses follow the primary clause, we can treat those clause com-plexes in which the secondary clause goes first – for example, (140) – as enhancing comparative. This means, of course, that if (47) had the order of the clauses reverted, it would no longer be considered a relative but a

comparative clause. Examples (141–143) present less difficulty in this respect due to the presence of an additional element in the nexus. The addition of that element – *para que* or *si* before a finite clause (141, 142), *para* before a non-finite (143) – creates a semantically complex nexus, where the final meaning of *para* or the conditional of *si* are also felt. The fact, however, that *como* precedes the prepositions seems to make the comparative meaning prevail. In (144), in spite of the absence of an accompanying preposition, there is no possible confusion with non-defining relative clauses either, as these must be finite, which is not the case here.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: manner:
comparison: secondary clause finite

(140) ***como*** *te puedes imaginar, trabajará conmigo en la película de David*
'as you can imagine, he'll work with me in David's movie'

(141) *como ciudadano individual considera que las cosas están **como para que** él rompa* [. . .] *todas las cautelas*
'as an individual citizen, he considers that things are ready for him to stop [. . .] worrying'

(142) *Nos pintas **como si** todos fuéramos una bola de borrachos*
You draw us as if we all were a bunch of drunkards

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: manner:
comparison: secondary clause non-finite

(143) *ninguna de las dos estábamos **como para** ponernos trágicas*
'neither of us was in a state to get tragic'

(144) *mira a los ojos, de frente, **como** queriendo mostrar que es sincero*
'he looks you straight in the eye, as if willing to show that he's sincere'

In examples (140–144) there are two cases of Subjunctive; the first one is the Present Subjunctive *rompa* in (141), where the same general interpretation made above applies: the clause refers to an unrealized action whose truth-value is not at stake. Note how the action looks more or less possible to take place depending on the meaning of the previous clause and, to an extent, the clausal nexus, not the verb's mood. Thus, whereas in (136) *ponlo donde tú quieras* ('put it wherever you want') seen above, there seems to be no doubt that the addressee will want to (*querer*), the breaking (*romper*) in (141) may very well never happen. The Subjunctive not only has nothing to

do with this higher or lower possibility of the coming into being but also removes all importance from such possibility. As for the Subjunctive in (142), it is in the past, and the use of Past Subjunctive in combination with the conjunction *si* serves to express a counterfactual conditional meaning (see below). Note, however, how once again the truth-value of what the secondary clause expresses is of no importance.

We finish the description of clausal expansion in Spanish with hypotactic causal-conditional enhancement. As we saw within parataxis, cause is further divided into reason, purpose and result. In paratactic reason we made a distinction between the sequencing cause ^ effect and effect ^ cause. In hypotaxis, this distinction is not so relevant, as the order of clauses in hypotactic relationships is reversible, although it should be pointed out: (a) that in hypotactic causal-conditional enhancement the cause is prototypically expressed by the secondary clause, and the effect by the primary clause, as examples (145–153) illustrate; (b) that there are some conjunctions that clearly welcome one sequencing over the other. Thus, the most frequently used conjunction when the primary clause precedes the secondary – that is, in effect ^ cause – is *porque* ('because'), as in (145), whereas *como* ('as') is the prototypical nexus when the secondary clause goes first – that is, in cause ^ effect, as in (146). When causal *como*, which is very clearly differentiated from its comparative and relative homonyms, follows the effect, it tends to be in the sort of realizations like the one in (147), that is, with a pause after the primary clause (*me voy al retrete . . . sola!*) followed by the secondary clause (*como nadie . . .*) in such way that the primary clause seems to be presupposed again after the secondary; hence the ellipsis marks at the end of (147). Examples (148, 149) show two other typical hypotactic cause: reason nexus, that is, *ya que* and *puesto que*, both of them rather flexible in terms of reversibility. Note how all examples (145–149) are in Indicative, which makes sense if we think that a reason is something that is taken to exist (or have existed).

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause: reason; secondary clause finite

(145)   *todos estábamos acostados en la balsa **porque** estábamos destruidos*
        'we were all lying on the raft because we were exhausted'

(146)   ***Como** nunca me ha gustado mucho salir, ahora disfruto doblemente de mi vida familiar*
        'As I've never been very fond of going out, I now enjoy my family life twice as much'

(147) *Me voy al retrete. Sola. ¡Completamente sola!* **Como** *nadie me quiere acom-*
pañar . . .
'I'm going to the toilet. Alone. All by myself! As no one wants to
come along . . .'

(148) *Nuestro hijo pudo hacer amigos rápidamente,* **ya que** *quedaba con los chicos*
del barrio después de la escuela para jugar a fútbol o al Nintendo
'Our son managed to make friends quickly, as he used to meet the kids
from our neighbourhood after school to play soccer or Nintendo'

(149) *es arqueológicamente inútil* **puesto que** *apenas nos informa sobre el momento,*
lugar y situación en los que fue fabricado y usado
'it is archeologically useless since it gives us scant information about
the time, place and situation in which it was manufactured and
used'

Non-finite secondary clauses expressing reason offer a wide variety of
forms, ranging from the Infinitive after the conjunction *por* (151) or the
conjunctive preposition *al* (150) to the Gerund (151), the Past Participle
(152), and even adjectives used as the Latin Present Participle, as is the case
with *ignorante* ('ignorant/ignoring') in (153). Hypotactic time (when con-
vergent) and reason share a lot of resources, to the extent that the expand-
ing mechanisms seen in (151–154) may be used in temporal expansion. We
saw the use of *al* + Infinitive in (118), above, and examples (155–157),
below, use the same non-finite verbs and forms seen in causal (150–154),
only this time with temporal meaning. The context determines the causal
or temporal interpretation.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
cause: reason; secondary clause non-finite

(150) *Murió de sufrimiento* **por** *no saber qué era de su hijo*
'(s)he died of suffering for not knowing what had become of
his/her son'

(151) *Los partisanos temblaban por la seguridad de su prisionero,* **al** *ignorar lo que*
las jerarquías querían hacer con él
'the partisans, not knowing what the hierarchy wanted to do with
him, feared for the prisoner's safety'

(152) **Desconociendo** *que hay productos especializados en ellos, están usando las*
cremas de sus esposas

'Ignoring that there are products specialized in them, they are using their wives' creams'

(153) **Movido** *por un extraño impulso entró y vio que bajaban a muchos heridos*
'Driven by a strange impulse, he went in and saw they were taking down a lot of injured people'

(154) *Belveder confió demasiado en sus posibilidades,* **ignorante** *de la superioridad del enemigo*
'Belveder trusted his chances too much, ignoring the enemy's superiority'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal:
convergent: secondary clause non-finite

(155) **Desconociendo** *ese fin observo en el cielo las nubes negras*
'Ignoring that end, I watch the black clouds in the sky'

(156) **Movido** *por la curiosidad, el Capitán Vidal apartaba la espesa cortina de lianas que le impedían ver a quien tan dulce y tristemente cantaba*
'Moved by curiosity, Captain Vidal opened the thick curtain preventing him from seeing that who sang so sweetly and sadly'

(157) *Después se llevó a las niñas,* **ignorante** *de que su ex mujer había llamado a la Policía*
'He then took the girls with him, ignoring that his ex-wife had called the police'

The prevalence of causal relationships such as the ones seen in (145–153) implies that consecutive clauses (i.e. those in which the effect is expressed by the secondary clause) are practically circumscribed to parataxis. The RAE (1986: 553) offers a list of exceptions to this, notably by means of the nexus *de modo que* ('in such way that') and *tanto/tan . . . que* ('so [much] . . . that'), as illustrated by their examples (158–159), as well as other nexus that are less used nowadays and which are therefore left out here. We however do not consider these structures as instances of cause: reason, as (a) *de modo que* clearly expresses purpose, which is the next category to be dealt with, and (b) expansion in constructions such as (158) takes place at group, not clause level, that is, *tan bien arreglada/calculada que . . .* is a single adjectival group within a simple clause with a rankshifted clause *las cosas se hacen maquinalmente.*

(158) *Yo la castigaré* **de modo que** *de aquí adelante no se desmande*
'I'll punish her so that she will no longer go wild'

(159) *La vida está **tan** bien arreglada, **tan** bien calculada, **que** las cosas se hacen maquinalmente*
'Life is so well arranged, so well calculated, that things get done mechanically'

In moving now from reason to purpose we move from real facts (at least presented as real) to wishes and intentions, and in doing so we are moving from the realm of the Indicative to that of the Subjunctive. Thus, both (160) and (161), which contain the most typical hypotactic nexus of purpose, have Subjunctive forms of the verbs in their secondary clauses. Purpose is often expressed non-finitely, notably by means of infinitival secondary clauses introduced by *para*, as in (162). There is also the possibility to express the same relationship by means of complex nexus such as *con vistas a*, as in (163), or others, although these options are highly marked.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause: purpose: secondary clause finite

(160) *Chusa trata de llamar la atención **para que** dejen de estar pendientes de él*
'Chusa tries to draw attention so that they stop watching over him'

(161) *Toma el aire por tu nariz y tu boca, al tiempo, con fuerza, **de modo que** se llene tu abdomen*
'Inhale the air through your nose and your mouth, with strength, so that your abdomen fills up'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause: purpose: secondary clause non-finite

(162) *Flores buscó a Eloy Roldán **para** convencerle de salir a trabajar*
'Flores looked for Eloy Roldán to convince him to go out to work'

(163) *el imperio de Azcárraga había fijado un cuartel general paralelo **con vistas a** expandir sus 'tentáculos' financieros en el mercado 'gringo'*
'The Azcárraga empire had set up parallel General Headquarters with a view to expanding their financial tentacles in the US market'

Hypotactic purpose and result – the category we describe next – provide a neat contrast in terms of the Indicative/Subjunctive dichotomy, as both enhancing resources share the use of the nexus *de modo que*, purpose, as seen, with Subjunctive, and result, as shown in (164) below, with Indicative. Whereas purpose as in (161) is an intention, and is therefore realized in the Subjunctive, result is typically presented as something that has come into

existence, for example, the faster working in (164), and its corresponding mood is therefore the Indicative. Note how the mood distinction is also transposed to the past: in (165) and (166) we have converted the present tense verbs from the primary clauses in (161) and (164) into past tenses, the secondary clause in the former passing from Present Subjunctive to Past Subjunctive and in the latter from Present (Perfect) Indicative to Past Indicative.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause: result

(164) *El tipo se ha comprado un ordenador,* **de modo que** *ahora trabaja más rápido*
       'The guy has bought himself a computer, so that he now works faster'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause: purpose

(165) *Tomaba el aire por su nariz y su boca, al tiempo, con fuerza, de modo que se* **llenara** *su abdomen*

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause: result

(166) *El tipo se compró un ordenador, de modo que entonces* **trabajaba** *más rápido*

The dividing line between purpose and result is very thin; if the verb *llenar* in (165) were expressed in the Indicative (i.e. *the modo que se llenó su boca*), the resulting structure would be one of result. For future actions, the tendency is to use the Subjunctive, as in (167). This can be explained by the fact that the concept of purpose fits futurity more naturally than result does.

(167) *Termine de voltear la rueda de modo que los rayos sueltos* **queden** *en el tope*
       'Turn the wheel completely over so that the odd rays stay on top'

Hypotactic result has no non-finite realizations in Spanish, so we now move to the description of the conditional component within causal-conditional enhancement. As we saw regarding paratactic enhancement, condition relationships may be positive, negative or concessive. Within hypotaxis, the prototypical expression of positive condition is by means of the conjunction *si* ('if'). We can distinguish three types of positive conditional relationships, which, following common trends in Spanish grammars, we call 'real', 'potential' and 'unreal'.[10] As we can see in (168–174), the option for Indicative or Subjunctive in the secondary clause within each type of conditional follows the general guidelines so far discussed. Real conditionals, where the secondary clause typically expresses a promise, a threat or a fact

of life, opt for the Indicative, usually in Simple Present (168, 169) or Present Perfect (170); Potential conditionals, because of their hypothetical character, choose Subjunctive, always in the past, as in (171, 172) – notice the two alternative *-ara -ese* inflectional suffixes, either one possible; finally, unreal condition – which also belongs to the realm of the hypothesis and supposition – also takes the Subjunctive, in this case Past Perfect (173, 174). Of course, all primary clauses have their verb in the Indicative (or in the imperative, as in 168), with a variety of possible tenses in real conditionals, although the Present (169) and the Future (170) are very common, and with the potential tense (which belongs to the Indicative mood) in potential (simple potential tense, as in 171, 172) and unreal (perfect potential tense, as in 173, 174) conditionals. Examples (168–174) do not exhaust all realizational possibilities of positive conditional clauses in Spanish but they do represent a reliable sample of mainstream realizations.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: positive: real

(168) **si** *tú conoces un poco más a tu mamá, pregúntale cualquier cosa que tú creas que le pueda dar un motivo de conversación*
'if you know your mom a bit more, ask her anything you think might give her a reason to converse'

(169) **si** *no se riega una planta, acaba por secarse*
if a plant is not watered, it ends up by drying out

(170) **si** *no se ha rellenado vía Internet deberá ser enviado al Seminario de Estudios Tipológicos*
'if it hasn't been filled out via Internet, it will have to be sent to the Seminar of Typological Studies'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: positive: potential

(171) **Si** *tuvieran que pagarles en dólares, el cuento sería otro*
'If they had to pay them in dollars, it would be another story'

(172) **Si** *quisiese hacer eso, sería una forma de cerrar las cosas*
'If he wanted to do that, it would be a way of bringing closure'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: positive: unreal

(173) **Si** *hubieras estado aquí mi hermano no habría muerto*
'If you had been here, my brother wouldn't have died'

(174) **Si** *hubiesen tomado estas medidas, habrían acabado con Hitler*
       'If those measures had been taken, they would have finished Hitler'

   Conditionals with other nexus, for example, *siempre que* and *a condición de que*, are much less frequent, and therefore more marked. The combinatorial possibilities are basically the same as in conditionals with *si*, with the only proviso that both *siempre que* and *a condición de que* require Subjunctive. This means that real conditions with one of these nexus, for example (176) below, sound a little less real than when expressed by *si*. Note in (175, 176) that whereas *a condición de que* (lit. 'on condition that') is a purely conditional nexus, *siempre que* (lit. 'whenever') is originally temporal (see 116, above). The conditional meaning of the logical relationship in (176) is brought about by the use of the Subjunctive *sea* (from *ser* ['be']); if the verb were in the Indicative (i.e. *siempre que nos **es** posible . . .*), the clause complex would have a temporal meaning, that is, not 'as long as it is possible . . .' but 'whenever it is possible . . .' Even more marked are conditional relationships realized by *en caso de que* (always with Subjunctive, as in 177)[11] or *en caso de* – or, simply, *de* – with an infinitival non-finite clause, as in (178, 179). Note that in non-finite realizations such as (178, 179), what indicates the kind of condition – potential in this case – is the tense of the primary clause.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: positive: potential: secondary clause: finite

(175) *Podríamos tener dos izquierdas **a condición de que** sus programas fuesen lo bastante diferentes*
       'We could have two lefts provided that their programs were different enough'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: positive: real: secondary clause: finite

(176) ***siempre que** nos sea posible, ilustraremos los conceptos con ejemplos y casos concretos*
       'as long as it is possible, we will illustrate concepts with concrete examples and cases'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: positive: real: secondary clause: finite

(177) ***En caso de que** a la hora indicada quedare alguna votación pendiente, podremos prorrogar la sesión hasta realizarla*
       'In the event that at the indicated time there was some voting pending, we will be able to extend the session until it is done'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: positive: potential: secondary clause: non-finite

(178) *¿qué te gustaría más, **en caso de** poder salir, por la mañana, por la tarde o por la noche . . .?*
'What would you prefer, in the event of being able to leave in the morning, in the afternoon or in the evening . . .?'

(179) ***De** hacerlo, se hubiese convertido en la nueva número uno del mundo*
'If she had, she would have become the world's number one'

Moving on now to negative condition, the prototypical nexus is *a menos que/a no ser que* ('unless'), as illustrated by (180–182). These three examples correspond to the three kinds of conditional construction mentioned above, that is, 'real', 'potential' and 'unreal', which have the same combinatorial possibilities as the positive conditional regarding verbal tenses and moods in both the primary and the secondary clauses. Note that (182) is a case of mixed conditional (real/unreal), which is possible in conditionals in general and rather frequent with a nexus such as *a no ser que*. *Sin que*, in (183), is a slightly more marked nexus for the expression of negative condition (not to be confused with concessive *sin que*, see below). This complex nexus can be reduced to the preposition *sin* with infinitival non-finite clause, as in (184).

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: negative: real: secondary clause finite

(180) ***A menos que** Estados Unidos asuma una posición seria y constructiva no se podrá establecer una cooperación sincera y efectiva*
'Unless the United States assumes a serious, constructive position, it will not be possible to establish a sincere and effective cooperation'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: negative: potential: secondary clause finite

(181) *nuestra democracia seguiría siendo frágil **a menos que** también hubiera una mejora concreta en las vidas de nuestros habitantes*
'Our democracy would stay fragile unless there also was a concrete improvement in the lives of our citizens'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: negative: mixed: secondary clause finite

(182) *El matrimonio era la única solución que se le presentaba, **a no ser que** hubiera preferido enclaustrarse en un convento*

'Marriage was the only solution facing her, unless she had preferred to seclude herself in a convent'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: negative: real: secondary clause finite

(183) *de ningún modo hay que dejar los navíos **sin que** primero queden en puerto seguro*
'Under no circumstances should the vessels be left behind without first being left in a safe harbour'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: negative: mixed: secondary clause non-finite

(184) *no puede haber reformas económicas de mercado **sin** primero pasar por reformas políticas*
'There can be no economic reforms of the market without first going through political reforms'

Concessive condition is mostly expressed by means of nexus built around the conjunction *aun* ('even'). The most frequently employed link is *aunque* ('although'), as in (185, 186), which results from the combination of *aun* and *que*. In these two examples we can appreciate how the Indicative/Subjunctive distinction is much exploited in hypotactic concession, as the secondary clause may choose between the Indicative, to express something that was, is or will be (e.g. 185), and the Subjunctive, to refer to hypothetical scenario, regardless of its actual or potential existence (e.g. 186). Thus, in (185) 'that you never forget it' is presented as a fact, whereas in (186), even if it is hinted that it (i.e. the fact that it has rained) actually seems the opposite, this is not assigned any truth-value, so much so that the secondary clause could perfectly be re-phrased as *aunque **pueda** parecer lo contrario* ('even if it **may** look like the opposite').

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: concessive: secondary clause finite

(185) ***aunque** nunca lo olvidas, intentas asimilarlo*
'Although you never forget it, you try to assimilate it'

(186) *Ha llovido poco, **aunque** parezca lo contrario*
'It hasn't rained much, even if it seems the opposite'

The rest of concessive nexus built around *aun* – *aun cuando, aun sin que* – also partake in constructions where the Indicative/Subjunctive distinction

is fully exploited, as can be seen by comparing the Indicative secondary clause in (187) with the Subjunctive secondary clause in (188) or (189), the latter with the nexus *sin que*, which is a softener concessive version of *aun sin que*. The nexus *si bien*, on the other hand, does not lend itself to choosing the mood, as the Subjunctive is mandatory in this case; the use of *si bien* implies that we are speaking of a real fact, as is the case in (190). Alternatively, there is the possibility to express concessive meaning by the negation of a reason; (191) illustrates the only possible way of realizing this, that is, by means of the conjunction *porque* – and only *porque* – and the Subjunctive mood. We can, however, choose between negating the secondary clause, as in (191), or the primary, as in (192). These two examples could be re-expressed as *aunque seas la mama y seas el papá, tu no eres . . .* or *aunque sea rojo . . .*, respectively.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: concessive: secondary clause finite

(187) ***aun cuando*** *un ataque parece inminente, en vez de huir se refugian en escondrijos primitivos cercanos*
'Although an attack seems imminent, they instead of fleeing seek shelter in nearby primitive hideouts'

(188) ***aun sin que*** *se moviese, sin que caminase, distribuía en torno suyo una agilidad torvamente festiva*
'Even without moving, without walking, he transmitted a balefully festive agility'

(189) ***sin que*** *se pueda establecer una relación estadística directa entre riqueza y mortandad en carretera, se trata de provincias como Badajoz, Almería o Soria donde la población y el nivel de renta son menores*
'Even if a direct statistical relationship between wealth and road fatality cannot be established, it is in provinces such as Badajoz, Almería or Soria where the population and the income are lowest'

(190) ***Si bien*** *no suelen revestir gravedad, las venas varicosas o simplemente varices constituyen todo un problema para hombres y mujeres*
'Even if they usually aren't serious, varicous or just varicose veins represent a big problem for men and women'

(191) ***No porque*** *tú seas la mamá y seas el papá, tú eres el que siempre vas a tener la razón*
'It is not because you're the mother and the father that you're going to be always right'

(192) ***Porque*** *sea también rojo* ***no*** *vayas a creer que . . .*
'(Just) because it's red, don't think that . . .'

As for non-finite concessive realizations, these typically are infinitival and have as nexus *aun sin*, or simply *sin*, as in (191, 192) or *a pesar de*, as in (193). There is also a gerundival option with *aun* as nexus, as in (194). These examples are followed by Table 2.3 with a recapitulative classification of markers of enhancement.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
condition: concessive: secondary clause non-finite

(191) ***Aun sin*** *asumir decididamente el control del partido, con algunos problemas en su primer servicio, Sabatini sacó provecho de la inconsistencia de la francesa*
'Even if not decidedly assuming the control of the party, having some problems with her first service, Sabatini took advantage of the French player's' inconsistency

(192) ***sin*** *ser un escritor religioso, cree en un bien superior*
'Without being a religious writer, he believes in a superior goodness'

(193) ***A pesar de*** *tener un cerebro grande, los hombres de Neandertal se caracterizaban por tener un corto período de desarrollo*
'Despite having a large brain, Neanderthals were characterized by having a short period of development'

(194) *Se hizo amigo del alcalde, Alirio Beltrán,* ***aun*** *sabiendo sus nexos con la guerrilla*
'He became friends with the mayor, Alirio Beltrán, even if knowing his liaisons with the guerrilla'

2.2.2 Projection

Projection is in principle not as varied as expansion, as it consists of just two types, that is, locutions and ideas. However, it is arguably more complex due to the categories resulting of the interconnections of locution versus idea with proposition versus proposal and of these two with hypotaxis versus parataxis. This higher complexity can be ascertained by looking at the system network of projection provided by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 445), which in Figure 2.2 we incorporate to the general clause-complexing system network seen in Figure 2.1.

Projection is 'the logical-semantic relationship whereby a clause comes to function not as a direct representation of (non-linguistic) experience but as

Table 2.3 Realizations of clause nexus in paratactic and hypotactic enhancement

Meaning		Realization	
		Paratactic	**Hypotactic**
Temporal	Convergent	*Y mientras tanto, y entonces*	*Cuando, mientras, siempre que;* [non-finite] *a la vez de, al* + inf.
	Divergent (later)	*Y entonces, y después*	*Cuando, después de que, desde que;* [non-finite] *después de, tras* + inf., participial, e.g. *terminadas, una vez terminadas*
	Divergent (earlier)	*Y antes*	*Antes de que, hasta que, mientras no;* [non-finite] *hasta, antes de* + inf., *hasta* + participial, e.g. *hasta terminado*
Spatial		*Y allí*	*Donde, hasta donde, dondequiera*
Manner	Means	*Y de esta manera, y así*	[non-finite] *al* + inf., gerundival, e.g. *apretando*
	comparison	*Y de igual modo, y así*	*Como, como para que, como si;* [non-finite] *como para, como* + gerundival
Causal-conditional	Cause: reason	Cause ^ effect: *así que, por lo que, luego*; effect ^ cause: *pues, porque*	*Porque, como, ya que, puesto que;* [non-finite] *al* + inf., gerundival, participial
	Cause: purpose		*Para que, de modo que; [non-finite] para, con vistas a*
	Cause: result	*y*	*de modo que*
	Condition: positive	*Y entonces, y en ese caso, en cuyo caso*	*Si, a condición de que, siempre que* [non-finite] *de* + inf.
	Condition: negative	*(y) si no, de otro modo*	*A menos que, a no ser que, sin que;* [non-finite] *sin* + inf.
	Condition: concessive	*Y aun así, pero aun así*	*Aunque, aun cuando, aun sin que, sin que;* [non-finite] *a pesar de, aun sin, sin* + inf., *aun* + gerund

a representation of a (linguistic) representation' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 441). As seen in section 2.1, this implies that the deployment of projection concerns mental and verbal processes. Because these two process types are described in detail in Chapter 3, several issues concerning the lexicogrammar of ideas and locutions will be explained there. For this reason the description of projection provided in this chapter will be less detailed than that of expansion; we will here present the logico-semantic resources available within projection in such way that our description does
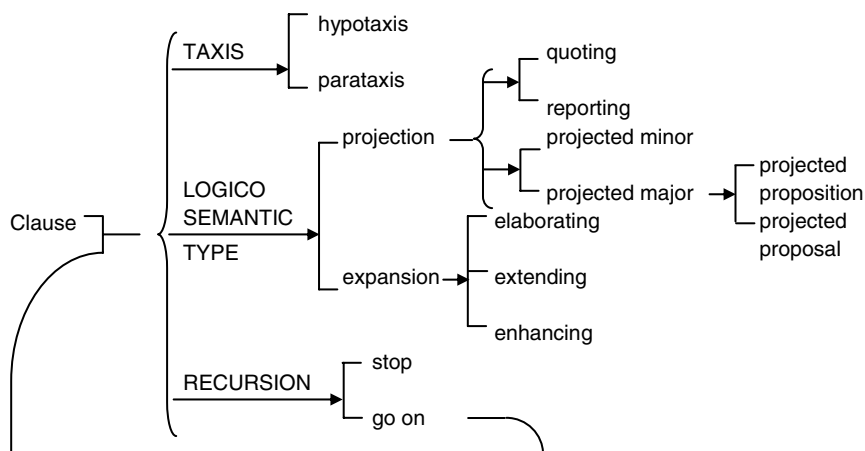
FIGURE 2.2   More delicate projection system network (after Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 445)

not overlap with the more specific account given when dealing with mental and verbal TRANSITIVITY systems.

The systems specified in Figure 2.2 for projection receive the following names in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 443): LEVEL OF PROJECTION (idea [mental] vs locution [verbal]); MODE OF PROJECTION (reporting [hypotactic] vs quoting [paratactic]) and; SPEECH FUNCTION (proposition vs proposal). Unlike in expansion, different kinds of projection are not associated with different conjunctions (or prepositions), as the only conjunction used in projection is *que* ('that', always in hypotactic projection, parataxis being marked by punctuation); instead, the level, mode and speech function of the projection is determined by the process type – that is, mental or verbal – and the grammatical configuration of the projected clause, as we are going to see. In addition, different co-selection among projection systems involve the presence or not of *que* as nexus.

2.2.2.1 Paratactic projection (1"2; "2 1 [1'2; '2 1])

Paratactic projection involves quoting, which typically takes place within verbal, rather than mental, processes, as illustrated by the fact that among all examples (195–206) below, only the last two are non-verbal. An important difference with expansion is that in projection paratactically related

clauses do not have a fixed order, that is, the primary (or projecting) clause may precede or follow the secondary, as respectively illustrated by (195) and (196).

Parataxis and projection; 1"2

(195) *Y entonces añadió: – Qué sería del mundo sin un poquito de misterio . . .,*
   'And (s)he then added: – What would become of the world without a little mystery . . .,'

Parataxis and projection; "2 1

(196) *'¿Sí es urgente?', replicó el portero.*
   '"Is it urgent?", replied the caretaker'

The default realization for the verbal Process in Spanish is *decir* ('say/tell'). This verb can be used for all kinds of projecting relationships, whether they are requests for information (i.e. questions, as [197]), requests for goods-and-services (i.e. commands, for example, [198]), offering goods-and-services (i.e. offers, for example, [199]) or giving information (i.e. statements, for example [200]).[12] However, each one of these four kinds of projection has its own set of distinct realizations, in which the specific speech function is lexicalized. Examples (200–204) show prototypical verbs of each of the four functions, namely *preguntar* ('ask') for questions, *ordenar* ('order') for commands, *prometer* ('promise') for offers and *añadir* ('add') for statements. Note how the last one is the most marked of the four realizations, as it is among statements that *decir* is the unmarked, most frequent realization.

Parataxis and projection: locution; question

(197) *'¿No puedes ?', **dijo** la Reina en tono compasivo*
   '"You can't?", said the Queen in a compassionate tone'

Parataxis and projection: locution; command

(198) *Por favor, dibújame un cordero – **dijo** la vocecita*
   'Please, draw me a sheep – said the little voice'

Parataxis and projection: locution; offer

(199) *un malandro para robarla le **dijo**: te voy a explotar la barriga de un plumazo".*
   'A thief told her in order to rob her: I'm going to burst your tummy with one shot'

Parataxis and projection: locution; statement

(200) *'El libro me parece admirable', **dijo** el autor de Mortal y rosa*

'"I find the book admirable", said the author of Mortal and Pink'

Parataxis and projection: locution; question

(201) *–¿Qué precio estaría dispuesto a pagar?, le **preguntaron** los reporteros*

'– What price would you be willing to pay?, the reporters asked him'

Parataxis and projection: locution; command

(202) *'Quítale el crucifijo y mételo en el carro' **ordenó** el sargento Tulio Córdoba*

'"Take off your crucifix and put it in the chariot" ordered Sergeant Tulio Còrdoba'

Parataxis and projection: locution; offer

(203) *'Habrá una investigación y se hará justicia', **prometió** el mandatario en entrevistas a dos emisoras*

'"There will be an investigation and justice will be made", promised the deputy during interviews with two stations'

Parataxis and projection: locution; statement

(204) *De pronto comenzaron a caer las bombas y vi como destruían el autobús", **añadió** la mujer*

'"Suddenly, bombs started to fall and I saw how they destroyed the bus", added the woman'

As said above, mental processes are much less prone to quoting than verbal processes are. However, quoting does sometimes happen within a mental process, as we can see in (205). In fact, this example also shows that in paratactic projection, the projecting clause may be placed not only before or after the projected but also inside. The same phenomenon is appreciated in (206), a process which is a perfect blend of verbal and mental, since 'telling oneself' is a verbal act that typically takes place without spoken words, that is, mentally; therefore, the projected clause could be a locution or an idea.

Parataxis and projection: idea

(205) *"¡Ah – **pensó** el General-, siempre el Maine y el 98!*

'Ah – thought the General – always Maine and 98!'

Table 2.4 Spanish quoting verbs

	Proposition	Proposal
Default	*Decir*	*Decir*
Giving	[statements:] *añadir* ('add'), *observar* ('remark'), *responder* ('reply') *anunciar* ('announce'), *continuar* ('continue'), *señalar* ('point out'), *insistir* ('insist'), *declarar* ('state')	[offers:] *sugerir* ('suggest'), *ofrecer(se)* ('offer [oneself]'), *prometer* ('promise'), *amenazar* ('threaten'), *jurar* ('swear')
Demanding	[questions:] *preguntar* ('ask')	[commands:] *mandar* ('order'), *pedir* ('request'), *exigir* ('demand'), *rogar* ('plead'), *instar* ('urge')

Parataxis and projection: idea/locution

(206) *Por Dios, Alicia – **se dijo** a sí misma – no debes comportarte duramente con el director ni mortificarle*
  'For God's sake, Alice – she told herself – you shouldn't be harsh to the director or mortify him'

Before moving on to the description of hypotactic projection, Table 2.4 shows a classification of verbs that typically realize the Process in verbal quoting processes. The classification takes into account the four speech functions mentioned above, and is illustrative rather than exhaustive.

2.2.2.2 *Hypotactic projection* (α 'β;α "β)

If we have seen that paratactic projection has a variable clausal sequencing, the case in hypotactic projection is the exact opposite, that is, the order is very rigid, with the primary clause preceding the secondary. In this way, hypotactic projection contrasts with hypotactic expansion, where, as have seen, reversibility prevails.

Hypotactic projection is pervasive both within mental and verbal TRANSITIVITY. Within the former, projected ideas are presented as indirect thought, whereas projected locutions are presented within the latter as indirect speech. As within parataxis, the projected clause is associated with one of the four speech functions, as illustrated by (207–214) below. Examples (207–210) show that *decir* is as much of an all-round verb for hypotactic verbal projection as it is for paratactic, and examples (211–214) show in

turn that the specific verbs projecting the different speech functions are the same for quoting and for reporting.

Hypotaxis and projection: locution; statement

(207) *algunos **dicen** por ahí que soy ultraguerrista*
       'Some say that I'm "ultraguerrista"'

Hypotaxis and projection: locution; question

(208) *siempre me **dicen** que por qué me asusté tanto en ese momento*
       'they always tell me why did I panic so much at that time'

Hypotaxis and projection: locution; offer

(209) ***dijo** que me llamaría para darme los datos*
       '(s)he said (s)he would call me to give me the data'

Hypotaxis and projection: locution; command

(210) *pero una amiga me **dijo** que le pidiera ayuda a la Virgen de la Caridad*
       'but a friend told me to ask the Virgin of Charity for help'

Hypotaxis and projection: locution; statement

(211) *Los amotinados **declararon** que su objetivo era 'restablecer el orden'*
       'The mutineers claimed that their aim was to "re-establish order"'

Hypotaxis and projection: locution; question

(212) *me **pregunta** que si he venido a quedarme aquí esta noche*
       '(s)he's asking me whether I've come to stay over tonight'

Hypotaxis and projection: locution; offer

(213) *él **juró** que nunca más nadie volvería a poner en duda su inteligencia*
       'he swore no one would ever again question his intelligence'

Hypotaxis and projection: locution; command

(214) ***ordené** que se abriera una investigación*
       'I ordered that an investigation be opened'

Unlike in verbal clauses, there is no general mental verb that can be used for all speech functions. On the contrary, statements are typically projected by a set of mental verbs, of which *creer* ('believe') in (215) is an example; questions by a different set (even if some of them coincide), *recordar* ('remember') in (216) representing a frequent realization, in both cases

belonging to the cognitive subtype; and offers and commands share a third set of mental verbs, on this occasion belonging to the intentional subtype, as the form *gustaría* ('would like') and *querer* ('want') in (217) and (218), respectively – see Table 2.5, for a classification.[13] Note how mental projections do not necessarily imply that the idea is not worded; in all of the examples (215–218), the idea is worded either by the Senser (215, 217) or by a third party (216, 218). The difference between ideas and locutions is therefore not a question of the actual wording or not of the projection; it is rather a question of whether the projection is presented as a semantic or as a lexicogrammatical phenomenon of language (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 451). Locutions are lexicogrammatical phenomena and therefore are always worded; ideas are semantic phenomena, and are presented as such regardless of whether they are worded or not, which is not an issue.[14]

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; statement

(215) *Yo **creía** que no tenía ni idea usted*
         'I thought you had no idea'

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; question

(216) *Pero él **no recordaba** quién era Eva*
         'But he didn't remember who Eva was'

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; offer

(217) *me **gustaría** transmitir mi entusiasmo por esta modalidad a clínicos y ecografistas"*
         '**I**'d like to transmit my enthusiasm for this modality to medics and ultrasound specialists'

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; command

(218) *Tu Susi **quiere** que le des algo*
         'Your Susi wants you to give something to her'

In hypotactic projection the Indicative/Subjunctive distinction is again important. Whereas quoted locutions are presented exactly as (one claims) they were uttered (and, in the rare case of quoted ideas, as one thinks they would have been uttered), reported locutions and ideas are dependent on the verbal or mental process clause, and this has an impact on their realization. As we can see in the examples discussed above, only reported commands have the verb in the Subjunctive, both as a locution (214) and as an idea (218). Unlike in expansion, the mood contrast in projection is in principle

not so much a question of the real versus the hypothetical; the explanation is simply that, unlike the other speech functions, commands are reported in the Subjunctive. It would always be possible, however, to argue that, of all speech functions, commands – or better, the commanded action – are the farthest from actually happening, which would justify the use of the Subjunctive. This would take us into a discussion of the different illocutionary forces of speech acts (commands being typically associated with perlocutionary force) too detailed for a general description like this. It will suffice, therefore, on this occasion to provide a straightforward, grammatical explanation without resorting to subtler semantic argumentations.

Before concluding our description of projection resources in Spanish, there is one last issue worth mentioning. All of the examples in this section, both paratactic and hypotactic, contain projected major clauses. It is possible, however, for a minor clause to be projected (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 255 about English), though only paratactically, that is, minor clauses can be quoted, as in (219, 220) below, but not reported.

(219) *Se lamentaba, exclamaba 'ay madre mía'*
           '(s)he complained, exclaimed "ay madre mía"'

(220) *Y Cristina gritó: – ¡Papá!*
           'And Cristina cried: – Daddy!'

As a roundup to hypotactic projection in Spanish, Table 2.5 shows a classification of mental verbs that typically report ideas, as locutions are reported by the same verbs seen in Table 2.4. On this occasion, offers and commands go in the same sack, as we have seen that they are projected by the same verbs, the difference residing in the grammatical realization of the projected clause. Note that reference to 'giving' and 'demanding' has been avoided (compare with Table 2.4), since these concepts do not fit the realm of reported ideas as they do that of locutions, which are physical and therefore exchangeable.

With this we reach the end of the description of logico-semantic resources in Spanish. There is one kind of projection that has not been considered here, that is, facts. Facts appear either as nominalizations, for example (221), or as a Qualifier to a noun, for example (222); they are, therefore, not clausal projections of the same order as locutions or ideas. For this reason, we postpone dealing with this category until section 3.3.2, where one specific kind of fact is described, that is, that serving as Phenomenon in mental clauses.

Table 2.5　Spanish reporting verbs (mental)

	Proposition	Proposal
Cognitive	[statements:] *creer* ('believe'), *pensar* ('think'), *saber* ('know'), *imaginar* ('imagine'), *dudar* ('doubt'), *recordar* ('remember'), *olvidar* ('forget') [questions:] *recordar* ('remember'), *olvidar* ('forget'), *saber* ('know'), *imaginar* ('imagine'), *preguntarse* ('wonder'), *descubrir* ('find out'), *comprender* ('understand')	
Intentional		[offers & commands:] *querer* ('want'), *gustaría* ('would like'), *desear* ('wish'), *esperar* ('hope')

(221) ***Que sea una mujer indefensa****, no le da derecho a abusar de mí*
'(The fact that) I'm a defenceless woman doesn't give you the right to abuse me'

(222) *Quien empieza a sufrir ante la mera idea **de presentarse ante el público***, *renunciará a ello de inmediato*
'He who starts suffering from the sheer idea of standing in front of the public will immediately renounce to it'

2.3 Spanish–English contrasts

The first thing that must be said when comparing English and Spanish logico-semantic resources is they show a great deal of similarity at the most general levels. Both languages resort to parataxis and hypotaxis, as well as to projection and expansion; and the classifications of the different kinds of clausal relationships and their nexus, when applicable, have been safely borrowed from the description of English logical resources by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). The contrasts made in this section are thus going to refer to specificities at instantiation level concerning a number of relationships. Spanish examples are for the most part recycled from the description above and presented with new numeration.

2.3.1 Contrasts in expansion

One of the above-alluded specificities concerns the expression of replacive relationships. As seen above and illustrated by (223–225), replacive meaning

is expressed by the conjunction *pero* when the primary clause has positive polarity and by *sino* when the primary clause has negative polarity. We already said but insist on it here that English does not mark this distinction, as illustrated by (226), with positive polarity in the primary clause, and (228), with negative polarity in the primary clause, the relationship being expressed in both cases by *but*.

Parataxis and expansion: extension: variation: replacive;
positive polarity in primary clause

(223) *los químicos clandestinos "creyeron erróneamente que su potencia era la misma que la del fentanil, **pero** resultó ser 1.000 veces más potente*
       'the clandestine chemists "erroneously believed that it had the same strength as *fentanil*, but it turned out to be 1,000 times as strong'

Parataxis and expansion: extension: variation: replacive;
negative polarity in primary clause

(224) *En Punta Alta para adquirir un producto no se requiere el pago con dinero en efectivo, **sino** que se puede hacer por medio de un crédito*
       'To acquire a product in Punta Alta you are not required to pay cash, *but you can do it by means of loans (. . . cash; you can do it . . .)'

(225) *Porque la mayor violencia no la despierta la conciencia de la grieta, **sino** el difícil puzzle de hacer coincidir la memoria*
       'Because the biggest violence does not raise awareness of the breach, but the difficult puzzle of making memory coincide'

Parataxis and expansion: extension: variation: replacive;
positive polarity in primary clause

(226) It was their duty and their responsibility to protect Local Government **but** instead they acted like cowards and ran away.

Parataxis and expansion: extension: variation: replacive;
negative polarity in primary clause

(227) Her emotion this time was not prompted by grief for her mother **but** by the seriousness of the moment.

An important point of contrast between both languages, because of the language transfer that very often takes place in Second Language Learning contexts, has to do with the use of non-finite forms after nexus realized by

prepositions. As so many examples above have shown and as (228, 229) below illustrate, prepositions in Spanish are followed by the Infinitive, whereas the Gerund is the form used in English in the same environment (see 230, 231).

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: divergent: later: secondary clause non-finite

(228) *La atmósfera hostil se agravó **después de partir** de las Canarias*
    'The hostile atmosphere worsened after leaving (lit. 'after to leave') the Canaries'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: divergent: earlier: secondary clause non-finite

(229) *Luego se copia hacia abajo **hasta completar** la tabla de puntos*
    'one then copies downwards till (lit. "till to complete") completing the dotted table'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent: secondary clause non-finite

(230) Has any one of you seen a sheepdog puppy **when leaving** Pack Meeting?

(231) **On arriving**, she worked her way round to the front window

We can refer to example (231) again to illustrate another important contrast between both languages – and usually between any given pair of languages. This contrast concerns logical relationships not only at clause-complex level but also at group level, that is, the different semantic spaces filled by prepositions in each language. Thus, whereas nexus in the Spanish clauses in (228, 229) translate into English as the 'expected' prepositions, that is, *after* and *till* are considered to correspond quite literally to *después de* and *hasta*, and *when* in (230) would translate as its semantically close match *cuando*, the preposition *on*, in its temporal use as in (231), does not correspond to *en* or *sobre*, that is, its, in principle, two closest semantic matches, generally speaking. Example (232) shows that this kind of meaning is expressed in Spanish by means of *al*, which literally is 'to the'. This kind of contrast may sound like something too obvious, but we have considered that not for being obvious should it be left out.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal:
convergent: secondary clause non-finite

(232) ***Al** llegar a su destino, lo dejó bien aparcado*
        'On arriving at his destination, he parked it well'

In connection with the last point, there are those cases in which one language has a nexus where the other has none. This is epitomized by the expression of hypotactic relations of manner: means, where Spanish typically resorts to an infinitival secondary clause without a nexus before, as in (233) – although it is possible to use the nexus *al*, as in (234) – whereas English realizes this meaning by means of a gerundival secondary clause introduced by the preposition *by* (e.g. 235). In the case of (234) we again see a preposition that in isolation would not be expected to have any connection in meaning with the one used in English, that is, *by*.

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: manner: means;
secondary clause non-finite

(233) *Elija el dato que desea cambiar **apretando** el botón MODE*
        'Choose the data you wish to change by pressing the MODE button'

(234) *se activa **al** pulsar sobre el aspa situada en la esquina superior izquierda de la ventana*
        'It is activated by clicking on the cross on the top left corner of the window'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: manner: means;
secondary clause non-finite

(235) then work our way back into the safe waters of the Cherwell **by** pulling on the branches of the shrubs and trees that overhung the river

Going back to the expression of hypotactic relationships of reason, we showed above that this and the expression of hypotactic time: convergent share a lot of resources in Spanish, as illustrated by the causal examples (236–239) and the temporal (240–243). The same can be said about English, with the addition that this parallelism happens not only with non-finite secondary clauses (see 244, 245) but also – very often, in fact – in clause complexes with *since* as nexus, as in the temporal (246) and the causal (247).

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
cause: reason; secondary clause non-finite

(236) *Los partisanos temblaban por la seguridad de su prisionero, **al** ignorar lo que las jerarquías querían hacer con él*
'the partisans, not knowing what the hierarchy wanted to do with him, feared for the prisoner's safety'

(237) ***Desconociendo** que hay productos especializados en ellos, están usando las cremas de sus esposas*
'Ignoring that there are products specialized in them, they are using their wives' creams'

(238) ***Movido** por un extraño impulso entró y vio que bajaban a muchos heridos*
'Driven by a strange impulse, he went in and saw they were taking down a lot of injured people'

(239) *Belveder confió demasiado en sus posibilidades, **ignorante** de la superioridad del enemigo*
'Belveder trusted his chances too much, ignoring the enemy's superiority'

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent:
secondary clause non-finite

(240) *se hizo famoso **al** preguntar a sus revoltosos colegas si querían una disputa o un presupuesto*
'he became famous when asking his fidgety colleagues whether they wanted a quarrel or a budget'

(241) ***Desconociendo** ese fin observo en el cielo las nubes negras*
'Ignoring that end, I watch the black clouds in the sky'

(242) ***Movido** por la curiosidad, el Capitán Vidal apartaba la espesa cortina de lianas que le impedían ver a quien tan dulce y tristemente cantaba*
'Moved by curiosity, Captain Vidal opened the thick curtain preventing him from seeing that who sang so sweetly and sadly'

(243) *Después se llevó a las niñas, **ignorante** de que su ex mujer había llamado a la Policía*
'He then took the girls with him, ignoring that his ex-wife had called the police'

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent:
secondary clause non-finite**

(244) Cara, **ignoring** that her sister was staring at her in total disbelief,
went on

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
cause: reason; secondary clause non-finite**

(245) The 'moderates' on both sides, **moved** by their 'common fear of the
hell' that otherwise awaits them, had to gain the upper hand

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: temporal: convergent:
secondary clause finite**

(246) But I have loved you ever **since** I first saw you in this house

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
cause: reason; secondary clause finite**

(247) **Since** he believed that he personified Iran, it was not surprising that
he saw almost everything in terms of personal betrayal

The hypotactic relationship of reason proves to be a very rich one for
contrastive purposes. We refer to it once again concerning on this occasion
one of its very frequent manifestations, that is, through the nexus *por*, as in
(248). This preposition is involved in a number of contrasts with the preposition *para* within Spanish grammar, one of them having to do with the
opposition cause versus purpose. If the former, in particular cause: reason,
is associated with *por*, the latter is associated with *para*, as in (249). In
English, however, this opposition is not always made manifest through the
choice of nexus, as both reason and purpose may choose the preposition
for, as is the case in (250, 251). In Chapter 3, we will see a similar kind of
contrast concerning the realization of Clients (a nuclear participant) and
circumstances of reason.

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
cause: reason; secondary clause non-finite**

(248) *Murió de sufrimiento **por** no saber qué era de su hijo*
'(s)he died of suffering for not knowing what had become of his/her
son'

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
cause: purpose: secondary clause non-finite**

(249) *Flores buscó a Eloy Roldán **para** convencerle de salir a trabajar*
'Flores looked for Eloy Roldán to convince him to go out to work'

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional:
cause: reason; secondary clause non-finite**

(250) **For** failing to report you'll be fined twenty pounds and your licence
will be endorsed

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: cause:
purpose: secondary clause non-finite**

(251) It didn't have to stop there **for** re-fuelling

Our last contrast within expansion looks at the use of the Spanish conjunction *aunque* and the way in which English expresses the different meanings associated with the Indicative and the Subjunctive in Spanish. We said above that a concessive secondary clause chooses the Indicative to express something that was, is or will be, as illustrated by (252), and the Subjunctive to refer to hypothetical scenario, regardless of its actual or potential existence, as is the case in (253). English makes this distinction not so much through the verb – although it does sometimes – but through the nexus. Thus examples (254, 255) refer to an existing situation in the concessive clause by using *although* or its emphatic equivalent *even though*, whereas (256, 257) resort to *even if* to refer to a hypothetical scenario. All examples scrutinized in the BNC corpus showed the same contrast. Note how (257) additionally chooses the Simple Past, presumably a Subjunctive, to convey the idea of an even more remote possibility, as is typically done in conditional clauses. It is interesting to observe that the Present used in (256) and the Past in (257) would correspond to Present Subjunctive and Past Subjunctive in Spanish. As suggested by our English translation of (253), *may* is sometimes used in English for a similar effect to the Spanish Present Subjunctive.

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition:
concessive: secondary clause finite: Indicative**

(252) *aunque nunca lo **olvidas**, intentas asimilarlo*
'Although you never forget it, you try to assimilate it'

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition:
concessive: secondary clause finite: Subjunctive**

(253) *Ha llovido poco, aunque **parezca** lo contrario*
'It hasn't rained much, even if it may seem the opposite'

**Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition:
concessive: secondary clause finite: condition presented as existing**

(254) **Although** they never spoke directly of Lachlan, each knew the other's
mind

(255) So **even though** we have a lot of tricky stuff to get right soundwise, the crew is so great that they can do it pretty much without us

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: causal-conditional: condition: concessive: secondary clause finite: condition presented as hypothetical

(256) So **even if** in ten years, twenty years time, I put a claim, the money I get then, will be the same seventy odd per cent of my salary as it would be today

(257) So **even if** it **managed** to escape from the scientists' clutches in Britain, it could not turn into another exotic pest

2.3.2 Contrasts in projection

As seen in (207–218) above, hypotactic projection of finite clauses requires the use of a nexus, which is practically always the conjunction *que*, except in the case of projected questions such as (258), where there really is no nexus, the interrogative pronoun of the projected question serving as a nexus of sorts. Even in these cases, however, there are verbs that require the inclusion of *que* before the interrogative pronoun, as in (259) below. The presence of the nexus is, therefore, obligatory in Spanish, in clear contrast with English, where the nexus *that* tends to be used only in written language. Examples (260, 261) illustrate the contrast between written and spoken English as regards the use or not of *that*.

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; question

(258) *Pero él no recordaba **quién** era Eva*
       'But he didn't remember who Eva was'

(259) *preguntó **que dónde** estaba su cama*
       'He asked (that) where bed was'

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; statement

(260) he replied **that** he had 'difficulties' which they might discuss 'later on'

(261) I said I'd better keep out of the way

   In our description of projection, we have differentiated between quotes, which are direct speech, and reports, which are indirect speech. As Halliday and Matthiessen point out, there is a third mode of projection, namely free indirect speech, as illustrated by example (262), provided by these authors

(2004: 465). As we can see, this mode of projection is a blend of the other two, as the relationship between the projecting and the projected clauses is paratactic and the indirect question in (262) retains the Subject ^ Finite order (*would ^ I*) but there is the temporal and personal shift proper to indirect speech.

Parataxis and projection; free indirect speech

(262) He said he was starting a new magazine, The Paris News-Post, and **would I become its fiction editor**.

Spanish also contemplates this blended mode of projection. Maldonado González (1999) offers some examples, one of which is reproduced below as (263) (1999: 3552). Perhaps the most important difference in the way in which each language deals with this mode has to do with the fact that Spanish tends to favour disjunction over other paratactic resources such as addition in the English example (262). Also, as we can appreciate in the question at the end of the Spanish example (263), there is no difference between indirect and free indirect questions in Spanish in terms of the order of Subject and Finite, as that language, unlike English, retains the order of direct speech in indirect questions such as (264 [lit. 'but he didn't remember who was Eva']). This contrasts with English (265), where the indirect question has the syntactic order of a statement.

Parataxis and projection; free indirect speech

(263) *Nerviosa se dijo: '¿Dónde habré puesto la carta?'.* **La Había dejado allí encima, estaba segura. Quizá él la había descubierto y había leído . . . ¿Qué iba a hacer ahora?**
      'Nervous, she told herself: "where have I left the letter?" She had left it right there, she was sure. Perhaps he had discovered and read it . . . What was she going to do now?'

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; question

(264) *Pero él no recordaba quién **era Eva***
      'But he didn't remember who Eva was'

(265) they don't know who **he is**

Finally, it is worth taking a look at the way in which both languages project mental offers and commands. Whereas both languages coincide in projecting offers by means of infinitival clauses such as (266) and (268), only English

uses the Infinitive also for the projection of commands, as in (267). Spanish, as illustrated by (269) and as seen above, resorts to finite projections in the Subjunctive (see also Chapter 3, section 3.5.2, for more contrast regarding projections both in mental and in verbal clauses).

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; offer
(266) I would like **to see** those things built in

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; command
(267) he would like us **to be** more responsive to tenants needs

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; offer
(268) *me gustaría **transmitir** mi entusiasmo por esta modalidad a clínicos y ecografistas"*
       'I'd like to transmit my enthusiasm for this modality to medics and ultrasound specialists'

Hypotaxis and projection: idea; command
(269) *Tu Susi quiere **que le des** algo*
       'Your Susi wants you to give something to her'

2.4 Summary

In this chapter we have looked at the logico-semantic resources of Spanish. We have first offered a global view of the three systems existing within the more general CLAUSE-COMPLEXING system, that is, TAXIS, LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE AND RECURSION. Focusing on the first two – as RECURSION simply accounts for the repetitive use of the rest of resources as many times as needed – we have explored the different meanings that can be construed through the exploitation of the combined resources available in those two systems. Paratactic and hypotactic meanings construed through expansion have first been described through a large number of examples that have allowed us to show the different clausal nexus responsible for the expression of the intended meanings. In addition, we have seen how Spanish plays with the Indicative and the Subjunctive not only to help construe different logico-semantic meanings but also to provide nuances within specific relationships. After this we have described projection in Spanish, where the protagonism of nexus in expansion is replaced by other factors such as the semantics of projecting verbs and the speech functions of the

projected clauses, that is, stating, asking, demanding and offering. The same as in expansion, though, the Indicative versus Subjunctive distinction has proved to be semantically relevant. Finally, we have seen some commonalities and differences between English and Spanish concerning the different semantic space of nexus in each language as well as other questions related to the instantiation of the clause complex.

Notes

[1] As regards traditional grammars of Spanish, different names have been used to refer to embedded or relative clauses, for example, Secos's (1996) *proposiciones adjetivas* ('adjectival propositions'), RAE's (1986) *oraciones subordinadas adjetivas* ('subordinate adjectival clauses').

[2] We are here simply describing an explicit manifestation of the differences between parataxis and hypotaxis. Several works have been written on finer-grained issues concerning the differences between parataxis and hypotaxis from a more theoretical perspective. For a rigorous yet succinct discussion on the particularities of both kinds of taxis in Spanish, see López García (1999).

[3] See Chapter 3 for NUCLEAR versus CIRCUMSTANTIAL TRANSITIVITY.

[4] In fact, as we will see later, these non-defining relative clauses enhance, rather than extend, the primary clause, as the temporal or causal relationship holding between both clauses is as typical of enhancement as alien to extension.

[5] This would arguably make this kind of relative clause defining rather than non-defining, as claimed by Brucart (1999: 497; this author calls defining relative clauses *especificativas* ['specifying'] and non-defining *explicativas* ['explanatory']). However, the existence of clearly non-defining realizations such as the ones in (60–62) seems to suggest that we are in the face of a nexus that lends itself to partaking in either kind of construction.

[6] Unstressed *aun* is not to be confused with the stressed *aún*. The former is a particle deriving from the latter, which is an adverb meaning 'still' or 'yet', and always accompanies another word or phrase on which it depends: *aun cuando, aun así* (see RAE 1986: 70–72, 100). *Aun* and *aún* are not always clearly distinguished, and precisely in the complex adverbial expression *aun así* many native speakers of Spanish accentuate the particle.

[7] In traditional Spanish grammars they have been called *subordinadas adverbiales* (e.g. Bosque and Demonte 1999) or (*subordinadas*) *circunstanciales* (e.g. RAE 1986).

[8] We try to simplify the description of this complex issue by looking at it from an eminently functional-semantic point of view, which contrasts with the syntactic approach that is often used to explain the Subjunctive/Indicative distinction. There are, however, exceptions to this; Bybee and Terrell (1990) are a good example of how the approach from a semantic perspective facilitates the understanding of the differences between both moods.

[9] In case some readers ask themselves why we tend to explain the Subjunctive versus Indicative issue by mostly picking and commenting on those examples with Subjunctive, the reason is that, as pointed out by Borrego et al. (1987: 9), the

Subjunctive is usually treated as the marked mood, while the Indicative is the unmarked or general. We are, then, discussing the reasons for not using the unmarked, general option.

[10] López García (1996: 124–125) offers a synopsis of the traditional tripartite division, plus alternative binary approaches. López García (1996: 131–149) proposes himself a completely different classification of conditional clauses, which he calls 'deontic', 'dynamic', 'alethic' and 'epistemic' depending on the semantic nature of the secondary clause. We find the tripartite classification the easiest to fit into a general descriptive grammar as this, so we have opted for it.

[11] The Subjunctive tense in (177) is the Future, morphologically characterized by its inflectional suffix *are/iere*. The Future Subjunctive is used to refer to hypothetical future actions or events. However, this tense is falling in disuse and is being replaced by the morphologically very similar Past Subjunctive (endings *ara/iera* or *ase/iese*), so that the secondary clause in (177) could nowadays be realized as *En caso de que . . . quedara* o *En caso de que . . . quedase.*

[12] Offers, commands, statements and questions are the four speech functions resulting from the intersection of the roles of giving/demanding with the commodities of goods-and-services/information (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 107–108; also Chapter 4 in this book).

[13] As we will se in Chapter 3, mental processes are divided into perceptive, cognitive, intentional and emotive.

[14] Even with locutions, the importance of the wording has to be relativized. As Maldonado González (1999: 3577–3578) points out, it is often the case that the actual words that are presupposed by the reported clause never took place, but rather something similar.

Chapter 3

The grammar of ideation II: Experiential metafunction

3.1 Introduction

We now move on from clause complexing to the simple clause by focusing on the other aspect of the grammar of ideation: the experiential metafunction, which is realized in the system of TRANSITIVITY and expresses the resources to construe our external and internal experience by means of processes, participants and circumstances. Following what has been done in the descriptions of other languages (e.g. Matthiessen 1995a for English; Caffarel 2006 for French; Teruya 2007 for Japanese), we will divide the general system of TRANSITIVITY into NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY, concerning processes and participants, and CIRCUMSTANTIAL TRANSITIVITY, concerning circumstances. This division is justified by the fact that whereas the type of process determines the nature of the participants and the way they interact, circumstances are less directly affected by the type of process and less directly involved in it (Matthiessen 1995a: 206). However, it is undeniable that certain types of process require certain kinds of circumstances – called 'inherent' by Downing and Locke (2006: 124), who use the process in (1) to illustrate this point. This is a reflection of the graded nature of language and its lexicogrammar, where categories are not compartmentalized but rather happen in a cline; although circumstances are, as a whole, less nuclear than participants, some circumstances are more nuclear than others. The same can be said of participants; as we will see in this chapter, the Medium is the most nuclear participant and is, therefore, the only one that must be present in all process types, the other participants being more dependent on the nature of the process.

(1) Let's put it **in the freezer**

Matthiessen (1995a) identifies two simultaneous systems making up the more general system of NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY: the system of PROCESS TYPE, concerned with 'whether the combination of Actor + Process

extends (transcends) to another participant (Goal) or not' (1995a: 206) and the system of AGENCY, which has to do with 'the variable of external cause or not (i.e., external to the combination of Process + Medium)' (1995a: 206). This description of the system of NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY has its roots in M. A. K. Halliday's seminal works on the theory of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), notably the three editions of *Introduction to Functional Grammar* ([henceforth *IFG*] 1985, 1994, and Matthiessen 2004) and has been followed, to a higher or a lesser extent, in SFG-based typological description (e.g. Caffarel et al. 2004 and Caffarel 2006 for French; Halliday and McDonald 2004 for Chinese; Martin 2004 for Tagalog; Rose 2004 for Pitjantjatjara; Steiner and Teich 2004 for German; Teruya 2004, 2007 for Japanese; Thai 2004 for Vietnamese). Yet, as defended elsewhere (Arús 2003, 2004a, b; Arús and Lavid 2001; Lavid and Arús 2004, 2006), we do not take the system of AGENCY to have to do with the variable of external cause – even if 'external' is to be understood here simply as 'external to the combination Process + Medium' – but rather with the variable of agency, hence the name of the system. This reflects the fact that not all processes expressing agency express also causation, as seen if we compare (2a) and (3a) below. Whereas the Agent in (2a), *The baby*, is the external causer of the DVD breaking – hence (2b) – the same Agent in (3a) is not externally causing any action by, or happening on, her nose, which explains the agrammaticality of (3b).

(2a) The baby's broken the DVD

(2b) The DVD has broken

(3a) The baby's picking her nose again

(3b) *The (baby's) nose is picking

Our approach suggests, therefore, that the system of AGENCY is simply responsible for the choice between middle processes such as (2b) and effective processes such as (2a, 3a), without any implication in terms of causation. This in turn entails that something else in the lexicogrammar must be accountable for differences regarding causability, that is, the possibility for a process of incorporating or not an external causer. This issue has been widely discussed in the literature from various theoretical standpoints (McCawley 1968; Fodor 1970; Jackendoff 1972, 1990; Dowty 1979; Pustejovsky 1991; Levin 1993; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Alsina 1999; Moreno

Cabrera 2003, to mention but a few). Within the SF framework, Davidse (1992) contends that the transitive and the ergative encode two different constellations, each with its own characteristic traits, and should be regarded as different systems. The different nature of each system is epitomized in constructions such as the transitive (4) and the ergative (5), below (examples taken from Davidse 1992: 125, 127, respectively). Whereas both (4) and (5) include a pseudo-participant, *the lake* in (4) and *he* in (5), only in transitive structures does the pseudo-participant – called Scope, as we will see in due course – resemble a Goal, and only in ergatives does it look like an Agent and is called Setting-Subject.[1]

(4) The children rowed the lake

(5) He fractured an arm in the accident

Davidse convincingly argues that Scopes[2] can only happen in what otherwise would be middle structures containing verbs that cannot express an effective process, that is, with Agent. If a verb, such as *row* in (4), cannot realize both middle and effective processes, then it is transitive. Conversely, processes that can be both middle, that is, Agentless, or effective, that is, with Agent, such as *fracture*, are ergative. Thus, whereas both middle (6a) and the effective (6b) are possible realizations with the ergative *fracture*, only the middle (7a) and the effective (8b) are possible with the transitive verbs *row* and *pound*, (7b) and (8a) illustrating inexistent realizations in present-day English.[3]

Process: ergative and middle
(6a) His arm fractured

Process: ergative and effective
(6b) She fractured his arm with a bat

Process: transitive and middle
(7a) The children are rowing
(8a) *She's pounding

Process: transitive and effective
(7b) *She's rowing the children
(8b) She's pounding the meat

Are processes (4) and (5), then, middle or effective? The answer, again following Davidse, is that they are neither. Scoped processes like (4) are typically analysed as middle – scoped middle, that is – in mainstream systemic literature. However, because both scoped transitive processes and ergative processes with Setting-Subject look effective at first sight without actually being so, Davidse (1992) gives them the in-between status of pseudo-effective. In our discussion of processes and participants in section 3.3, we will delve into the nature of Scope and Setting-Subject, which will allow a better understanding of pseudo-effective structures, and why it is that, as Davidse concludes, 'there is no way the transitive and ergative pseudo-effective constructions can be generalized in to a single schema' (1992: 132).

The variable of external causation – essential to the distinction transitive/ergative – is therefore accounted for by a system different from that of AGENCY, a system that we will call CAUSATION, which includes the dual choice between transitive – that is, non-ergative – and ergative processes, as shown in Figure 3.1. Choices both within AGENCY and CAUSATION are process-general, that is, they cut across all process types, in contrast with choices within the system of PROCESS TYPE, which determine the specific set of participants available for each kind of process. The fact that both
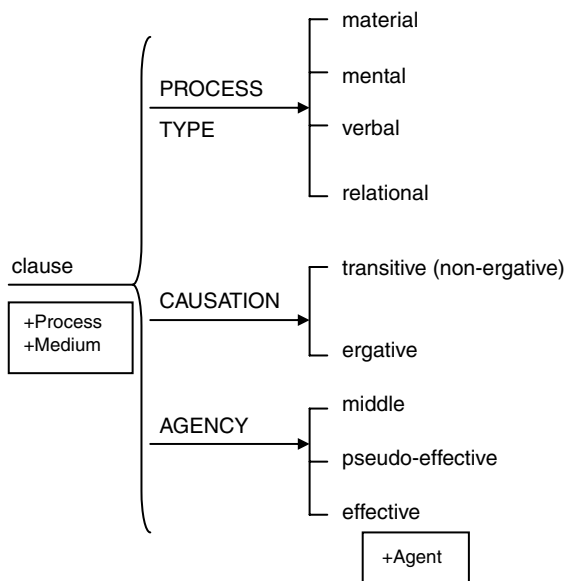
FIGURE 3.1 Spanish and English most general NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY system network

AGENCY and CAUSATION are process-general may be one of the reasons why both notions tend not to be discriminated in the literature – the other, determinant reason surely being that all ergative processes may have an Agent. The fact, however, that they include different, meaningful choices seems to justify the distinct status they are given in this book. This does not mean, though, that failing to take the system of CAUSATION into account invalidates descriptions; rather, its inclusion renders them more fine-grained. Figure 3.1, then, shows the three systems that we think optimize the description of the general system of NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY of languages such as English and Spanish.

As we see in Figure 3.1, only two of the choices in the most general network of TRANSITIVITY include a realization statement. This is so because most choices become meaningful only when co-selected with other options, as shown in Figure 3.2. Thus, for instance, when the material process type is co-selected with the transitive option within the system of CAUSATION and middle from AGENCY, a realization statement specifies the participants nuclear to the constellation resulting from that choice, that is, Actor, which joins the Process, and Medium, added at the initial stage of the activation of the system of TRANSITIVITY at clause level (leftmost side of the system
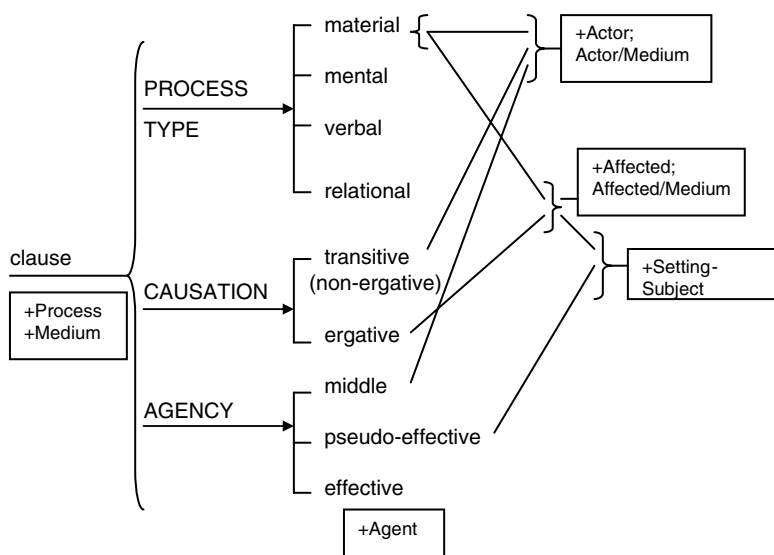
FIGURE 3.2 Spanish and English most general NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY system network, partially activated

network). In addition, there is a realization rule specifying the conflation of Actor with Medium in the general system (see two paragraphs down for a preliminary presentation of this system). Figure 3.2 also shows the resulting realization rules of co-selecting material and ergative: the participant joining the Process and Medium nucleus is now the Affected, which is always Medium, regardless of whether the process is middle, pseudo-effective or effective. That is why the realization statement pops up before co-selecting a choice from AGENCY. If we select pseudo-effective from that system, as is done in Figure 3.2, a new realization statement specifies the incorporation of the Setting-Subject as the fourth necessary clause constituent. If the effective option instead of the middle or pseudo-effective ones were to be picked, then the realization rule +Agent would automatically be activated and added to the other realization rules activated by the co-selection made. Throughout this chapter we will see the participant functions associated with the different selections from the system of TRANSITIVITY in Spanish as well as the differences between Spanish and English both in the meaning potential – that is, the choices available – at more delicate levels, and in the realization statements associated with specific co-selections.

The addition of the system of CAUSATION implies that ergativity in our description is, therefore, somewhat different from the use given in *IFG* and other systemic descriptions. 'Ergative' is for Halliday and Matthiessen the model that 'together with the transitive . . . makes up the general system of transitivity' (2004: 285), and participants seen from an ergative perspective are, unlike transitive participant functions, 'general to all process types' (2004: 293). In our description the ergative also combines with the transitive to make up the general system of TRANSITIVITY. The difference is found among the ergative participant functions, which for us are as process-specific as transitive participant functions, given that we take structures to be **either** transitive **or** ergative. Each process type is thus characterized by a set of participants for transitive structures and a different set of participants for ergative structures, both sets differing not only from each other but also from the sets of participants in the other process types, as we will see in due course.

If we left it at that, our proposal would be lacking a unifying general model of description such as the one provided by ergative participant functions in *IFG*. Such general model of description, with participant functions cutting across all process types, corresponds to our general system, which, as seen in (9–16) below, serves to unify the analysis not only of transitive and ergative structures within each process type but also of different process types, in this case material and mental, respectively. The general system is also present in Davidse (1992: 131), confined to material processes, but

we have made some terminological adjustments so as to render the analysis clearer, mostly keeping in mind the extension of the transitive/ergative split to all process types. As examples (9–16) show, our analysis coincides with the one in *IFG* for transitive processes (i.e. 9, 10, 13, 14), with the already anticipated caveat that the second layer of analysis corresponds to the ergative interpretation in *IFG* and to the general system in this book. The main differences are found in the analysis of ergative processes (i.e. 11, 12, 15, 16), which in *IFG* are analysed in identical terms to transitive ones whereas we assign different participant functions in our attempt to grasp the different natures of the transitive and the ergative constellations. Thus, ergative material processes such as (11–12) have their specific participants, that is, Affected and, in the effective, Instigator, whereas ergative mental processes such as (15, 16), while having a Senser as transitive processes do, incorporate an Inducer in the effective. On the other hand, as we can see by comparing all the second layers of analysis, our general system and the general ergative interpretation of processes in *IFG* fully coincide in the terminology of participants, with, for instance, Medium as the most nuclear participant and Agent as the addition in effective processes. All this will be seen in more detail when we tackle the actual description of the system of Spanish TRANSITIVITY, to which we turn next.

Process: material and transitive and middle

(9a) Transitive and ergative layers of analysis in *IFG*

The children	are rowing
Actor	Process: material
Medium	

(9b) Transitive and general layers of analysis in this book

The children	are rowing
Actor	Process: material
Medium	

Process: material and transitive and effective

(10a) Transitive and ergative layers of analysis in *IFG*

Baby	's biting	the rattler
Actor	Process: material	Goal
Agent		Medium

(10b) Transitive and general layers of analysis in this book

Baby	's biting	the rattler
Actor	Process: material	Goal
Agent		Medium

Process: material and ergative and pseudo-effective
(11a) Transitive and ergative layers of analysis in *IFG*

The stone	split	in two
Actor	Process: material	Attribute
Medium		Range

(11b) Transitive and general layers of analysis in this book

The stone	split	in two
Affected	Process: material	Attribution
Medium		

Process: material and ergative and effective
(12a) Transitive and ergative layers of analysis in *IFG*

The mason	split	the stone	in two
Actor	Process: material	Goal	Scope
Agent		Medium	Range

(12b) Transitive and general layers of analysis in this book

The mason	split	the stone	in two
Instigator	Process: material	Affected	Attribution
Agent		Medium	

Process: mental and transitive and pseudo-effective
(13a) Transitive and ergative layers of analysis in *IFG*

I	love	her smile
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
Medium		Range

(13b) Transitive and general layers of analysis in this book

I	love	her smile
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
Medium		Range

Process: mental and transitive and effective

(14a) Transitive and ergative layers of analysis in *IFG*

His attitude	disgusted	everyone
Phenomenon	Process: mental	Senser
Agent		Medium

(14b) Transitive and general layers of analysis in this book

His attitude	disgusted	everyone
Phenomenon	Process: mental	Senser
Agent		Medium

Process: mental and ergative and middle

(15a) Transitive and ergative layers of analysis in *IFG*

You	worry	too much
Senser	Process: mental	Circumstance: manner: degree
Medium		

(15b) Transitive and general layers of analysis in this book

You	worry	too much
Senser	Process: mental	Circumstance: manner: degree

Process: mental and ergative and effective

(16a) Transitive and ergative layers of analysis in *IFG*

You	're worrying	me
Phenomenon	Process: mental	Senser
Agent		Medium

(16b) Transitive and general layers of analysis in this book

You	're worrying	me
Inducer	Process: mental	Senser
Agent		Medium

3.2 A bird's eye view of Spanish NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY: The general system

Before describing in detail the different process types, with their specific participants, it will be helpful to take a preliminary look at the overall system of TRANSIVITY and by so doing try to gain some insights into the nature of participant functions at the most general level, that is, at the level of the general system. This means that before dealing with the system of PROCESS TYPE we are going to look at the system of AGENCY, which, as stated above, together with that of CAUSATION, whose theoretical underpinnings have just been established, cuts across all process types.

The participant functions from the point of view of the general system are very few and, except for the Beneficiary, they already appeared in the introductory section of this chapter. They are Medium, Agent, Range and Beneficiary. Although they will take shape as we move along our description of the different process types in the next section – we will see them conflate with the different participants specific to each type of process – this first approach to them will allow us both to establish some solid grounds for the rest of the chapter and to start using examples from Spanish to illustrate the discussion. This section is, therefore, not properly descriptive yet; it rather provides some further theoretical underpinnings that may facilitate the ensuing description.

The Medium is the most central participant; it is the only one that must always be present. As Halliday and Matthiessen put it, the Medium is the participant 'through which the process is actualized, and without which there would be no process at all' (2004: 288). A process (a clause) consists, therefore, of a Process (realized by a verb) and at least one participant; that participant is the Medium. Examples (1–4) illustrate one process each from the four major process types that will be seen in section 3.3. Each one of them has only one participant and that participant, as anticipated, is the Medium, regardless not only of whether the process is material, mental, etc.

but also of whether it is transitive or ergative – we will in due course see what labels the Medium conflates with in the different types of processes and in each of the two systems, that is, the transitive and the ergative.

Process: material and ergative and middle

(1) *La puerta*   *se abrió*
    The door   opened
    Me   Process

Process: mental and ergative and middle

(2) *Tú*   *no te preocupes*
    You   don't worry
    Me   Process
    'Don't worry'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle

(3) *está hablando*   *el AMO que lleva dentro*
    is talking   the MASTER that he has inside
    Process   Me
    'The master inside him is talking'

Process: relational: existential and transitive and middle

(4)   *había*   *dos personas que estaban siendo despachados*
    (there) were   two people who were being served
                Process Me

Saying that the Medium must be present in a process does not however mean that it has to be explicitly realized, let alone in a language such as Spanish whose verbal inflectional richness – mostly compared to English – allows leaving out the Subject, as is the case in (5) and (6) below. Whenever there is only one participant, that is, the Medium, this is at the same time the Subject of the clause, which means that in middle – that is, agentless non-ranged – processes the Medium is quite likely to be left out, even if it is understood to be there. Thus, the Medium *él* or *ella* is implicit to (5), as hinted by the English gloss, the same as *yo* is understood to be the Medium in (6). It may be helpful to remember at this time that Circumstances do not belong to NUCLEAR but to CIRCUMSTANTIAL TRANSITIVITY, which explains that (5) is a one-participant process in spite of the presence of the Circumstance of place.

Process: material and transitive and middle

(5)		*se cayó*	*a la entrada de Zamora*
	(she/he)	fell	at the entrance to Zamora
	Me	Process	Circ: place

Process: mental and ergative and middle

(6)	*Entonces,*	*bueno,*		*me animé*
	Then	well	(I)	cheered up
			Me	Process

There is, nevertheless, one exception to the necessary presence of the Medium in a process, and that exception is found in material meteorological processes such as (7), where no participant, whether pronominal or nominal, can be either incorporated to the process or assumed to be implicit. It should be noted that in other languages such as English, French or German in which a dummy Subject, that is, *it, il, es*, precedes the meteorological process, this Subject is exclusively interpersonal and has, therefore, 'no function in transitivity' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 259, about English *it*), that is, the dummy Subject is not a Medium.[4]

Process: material and transitive and middle; meteorological

(7)	*¡está nevando*	*en Granada!*
	is snowing	in Granada!
	Process	Circ: place

The examples used to illustrate the nuclear nature of the Medium have at the same time allowed us to observe that processes with only this participant are all of them middle. If a Beneficiary is added to the process, this is still middle, as in (8, 9); if a Range is added, then the process is pseudo-effective, as in (10–12). In all pseudo-effective processes, the same as in middle, the Medium is also the Subject; therefore it is as likely to be left implicit in pseudo-effective as in middle processes. Of the three categories within the system of AGENCY, the effective is the most different from the middle. For starters, the Medium is no longer the Subject but a Complement, as in (13), or an Adjunct, as in (14), the Agent assuming now the role of Subject, as can be seen in both (13) and (14). The presence of the Agent is, then, what makes a process effective, as specified in Figures 3.1 and 3.2. Agents may coexist with Beneficiaries, as in (13), but not with Ranges, as will be discussed in section 3.3.1.1.

Process: material and ergative and middle

(8) *la ceja derecha . . .*   *se*   *le*   *abrió*   *con un cabezazo involuntario*
    the right eyebrow   op-   him   -ened   with a butt
    Me   Pro-   Be   -cess   Circ: means
    Subject   Complement   Adjunct
    'His right eyebrow was split open by a butt'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle

(9) *¿Le*   *miente*   *el amigo?*
    her   lies   the friend?
    Be   Process   Me
    Adjunct   Subject
    'Does her friend lie to her/him?'

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective

(10) *su socio Ed Viesturs y él*   *escalaron*   *la montaña*
    his partner Ed V. and he   climbed   the mountain
    Me   Process   Ra
    Subject   Complement

Process: mental and transitive and pseudo-effective

(11) *¿tú*   *entiendes*   *ese término jubilación?*
    You   understand   that term *retirement?*
    Me   Process   Ra
    Subject   Complement

Process: verbal and transitive and pseudo-effective

(12) *Pero*   *el Gobierno*   *no*   *dice*   *la verdad*
    But   the Government   NEG   tell   the truth
             Me   Process   Ra
             Subject   Complement
    'But the Government is not telling the truth'

Process: material and transitive and effective

(13) *Famoso actor*   *construye*   *clínica*   *para Honduras*
    Famous Actor   builds   clinic   for Honduras
    Ag   Process   Me   Be
    Subject   Complement   Adjunct

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and effective

(14) *le*   *asustó*   *su conducta*
      him   frightened   his behaviour
      Me   Process   Ag
      Adjunct   Subject
      'His behaviour frightened him'

   The Agent is 'the external agency where there is one' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 292) and, as already seen, is the participant whose presence makes a process effective, for example, in (10), (12), (14) and (16) in the previous section and (14) and (15) in this section. Together with the lexical (in)variability of the Process, the Agent and the Medium are indicators of whether a process is transitive or ergative. As seen in section 3.1, middle ergative processes simply need to add an Agent to become effective, the Medium being the same participant in the middle as in the effective. Thus, if we take the process in (8), above, the Medium *la ceja derecha* ('the right eyebrow') will still be the Medium if an Agent is added and the process becomes, therefore effective: for example, [Agent:] *un cabezazo* [Beneficiary] *le* [Process:] *abrió* [Medium:] *la ceja derecha* ('a head butt opened his right eyebrow'). This is simply impossible in transitive processes; not even in those transitive processes that arguably seem to have a middle and an effective version, such as (15, 16).[5] As the proposed analysis reveals, the Medium is a different participant in each category (*Se → cosas*; *se → gente*). In fact, and as will be seen in the next section, (15a) and (16a) are not middle processes but what, following Davidse (1992: 108), we will call 'inherently Goal-directed' processes, hence effective. This eliminates the possibility of finding transitive processes with middle and effective versions and results in a more clear-cut distinction between ergative and transitive processes.

(15) (a) *Se*   *sigue robando, pero menos*
           IMP   keep stealing   but less
           Me   Process
           'They keep stealing, though less (than before)'

     (b) *Se*   *sigue robando*   **cosas,**   *pero menos*
           IMP   keep stealing   things   but less
           Ag   Process   Me
           'They keep stealing **things**, though less (than before)'

(16) (a) *Por esto*   *se*   *fusilaba, o* *se*   *asesinaba*
        For that   IMP   shoot   or IMP murder
        Circ: reason Me   Process   Me   Process
        'For that reason did they shoot or murder back then'

   (b) *Por esto*   *se*   *fusilaba, o* *se*   *asesinaba* **gente**
        For that   IMP   shoot   or IMP murder people
        Circ: reason Ag   Process   Ag   Process Me
        'For that reason did they shoot or murder **people** back then'

Precisely speaking of clear-cut distinctions between both systems, there is one participant function that only appears in transitive processes, that is, the Range, the participant which 'specifies the range of domain of the process' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 293). All ranged structures are transitive pseudo-effective and, although frequent among material processes, for example (17), they are pervasive in mental, for example (18), verbal, for example (19), and relational: attributive, for example (20), TRANSITIVITY since the Range conflates there with the most characteristic participants of those process types. This will be seen in due course as the different process types of Spanish NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY are described, which will at the same time give shape to the nature of the Range.

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective

(17) *su socio Ed Viesturs y él*   *escalaron*   *la montaña*
     his partner Ed V. and he   climbed   the mountain
     Me   Process   Ra

Process: mental: perceptive and transitive and pseudo-effective

(18) *vimos*   *una liebre*
     saw   a hare
     Process   Ra
     'We saw a hare'

Process: verbal and transitive and pseudo-effective

(19) *Estevill*   *jamás . . .*   *nos*   *pidió*   *dinero*
     Estevill   never   us   asked   money
     Me   Circ: frequency Be   Process Ra

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and transitive and pseudo-effective

(20) *El jabalí*   *es*   *un animal feroz*
     The boar   is   a wild animal
     Me   Process   Ra

The last nuclear participant to be described is the Beneficiary, that is, 'the one to whom or for whom the process is said to take place' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 293). Beneficiaries are mostly found in material and verbal processes, as (21) and (22), respectively. It is precisely among the latter that this participant plays a particularly relevant role since one of the characteristics of verbal processes is that they often express the receiver of the verbal act, and that receiver is the Beneficiary from the point of view of the general system. Occasionally, Beneficiaries are also found among relational processes, as illustrated by (23).

Process: material and transitive and effective

(21)   *me*   *tirará*   *el micro*   *a la cabeza*
     (she/he)   me   will throw   the mike   to the head
     Ag   Be   Process   Me   Circ: place
     '(S)he'll throw the mike onto my head'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle

(22) *la familia*   *nos*   *pidió*   *que guardáramos silencio*
     the family   us   asked   that we kept silence
     Me   Be   Process →   β (reported locution)
     'The family asked us to keep silent'

Process: relational and transitive and pseudo-effective

(23) *la aceptación*   *me*   *es*   *útil*
     the acceptance   me   is   useful
     Me   Be   Process   Ra
     'The acceptance is useful to me'

The fact the Beneficiary, when not pronominalized, is realized by a prepositional phrase (*me* in 21 and 23 could be duplicated as *a mí* ['to me'], *nos* as *a nosotros* ['to us']) would tempt one to say that the Beneficiary is the least nuclear of all nuclear participants, or the least prototypically nuclear. However, the Beneficiary is not the only participant with some circumstantial features. As Halliday and Matthiessen explain, the Medium forms the clause nucleus together with the Process, while the Agent, Range and Beneficiary stay in a ring outside the nucleus but closer to it than Circumstances,

which belong to an outer ring: 'Agent, Beneficiary and Range have some features of participants and some of circumstances: they are mixed. And this is reflected in the fact that grammatically also they are mixed: they may enter in to the clause either directly as nominal groups (participant-like) or indirectly in prepositional phrases (circumstance-like)' (2004: 295). Thus, besides the prepositional realizations of Beneficiaries just mentioned and illustrated by (24) below, Agents are realized by *por*-prepositional phrases in Spanish passive clauses (as they are by *by*-prepositional phrases in English), as illustrated by (25) and Ranges may include a preposition if this is required by the verb realizing the Process whose range they specify, as in (26). In this respect, it must be pointed out that the Medium seems *prima facie* to show a slightly lower nuclearity in Spanish than it does in English, since, when referring to specific animate entities, it takes the preposition *a* when fulfilling the interpersonal role of Complement in effective clauses, as illustrated by (27). The fact, however, that this is motivated by the nature of the referent shows that the realization through prepositional phrase is not a reflection of loss of nuclearity.[6]

Process: material and transitive and effective and benefactive

(24) *Famoso*   *actor*   *construye*   *clínica*   **para** *Honduras*
      Famous   Actor   builds   clinic   for Honduras
      Ag   Process   Me   Be
      'Famous Actor builds clinic for Honduras'

Process: material and transitive and effective and passive

(25) *tres guardias*   *fueron golpeados*   **por** *unos 50 amotinados*
      three guards   were beaten   by some 50 mutineers
      Me   Process   Ag

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective;
cognate object Scope

(26) *¿Se ve*   *usted*   *jugando*   **al** *fútbol*   *a los treinta y ocho años?*
      Do you see   yourself   playing   football   at thirty-eight?
                     Me   Process   Ra   Circ: time

Process: material and transitive and effective

(27) *A diez minutos del final*   *Roberto zancadilleó*   **a** *Gordillo*   *en el área*
      Ten minutes from the end   Roberto tripped   to Gordillo   in the area
      Circ: time   Ag Process   Me   Circ: place
      'Ten minutes from the end, Roberto tripped Gordillo within the penalty area'

With this we conclude the presentation of the participant functions from the point of view of the general system. Now that we are familiar with them, we will concentrate on the description of the different process types, with their specific participant functions and the conflations of these with the general ones we have just discussed. The four general functions traditionally identified in the mainstream systemic literature – Medium, Agent, Range and Beneficiary – are sufficient and equally valid to account for the systems of NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY of English and Spanish. Conversely, as we will see in the next section, our description of process types will require the addition of a few process-specific functions to those identified in *IFG* and handled in other SF-based typological descriptions.

3.3 Profile of Spanish NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY: Process types

Halliday (1967a, b, 1968, 1976) first divided processes in three groups: material, mental and relational. In *IFG* (1985, 1994, 2004) they were extended to six types, namely material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational and existential, the original three retaining the status of major process types (1994: 107; 2004: 171). SFG-based descriptions typically recognize the six mentioned process types with slight differences in terms of the status given to them. Thus whereas Matthiessen (1995a) ranks verbal processes among the major process types, together with material, mental, verbal and relational in the description of English TRANSITIVITY, Caffarel's (2006) description of French identifies three semantic categories, that is, doing, projecting and being, each one of which covers two kinds of processes: material and behavioural, mental and verbal, and existential and relational, respectively (2006: 65). Similar fluctuations in terms of the number of major process types is found in the typological descriptions of a variety of languages in Caffarel et al. (2004), no doubt reflecting grammatical reactances specific to each language. The fact that even within the descriptions of one single language different works break up the system of PROCESS TYPE slightly differently simply shows that linguistic categories are very rarely compartmentalized; they form a continuum and it's not always easy to know where to draw the line.

As shown in Figure 3.3, for our description of Spanish we are going to follow Matthiessen's (1995a) division into four major process types, that is, material, mental, verbal and relational. We will see that the grammar of

verbal processes is specific enough for these to deserve a life of their own, independent of mental processes, even if these two process types still share more with each other than with the rest of major process types. For the description of each type of process, we will focus on the most nuclear participants since those are the ones characterizing the different process types. This does not mean that less nuclear participants will be left out of the picture. These will be discussed whenever their presence is particularly meaningful, but the core of the discussion will revolve around central categories. In fact, our use of corpus examples will compel us to include structures including not only less nuclear participant functions but also circumstances, which will be dealt with more in detail in the section devoted to CIRCUMSTANTIAL TRANSITIVITY. Finally, although Spanish, in contrast with English, tends to leave out pronominal Subjects, we will try whenever possible to use examples in which the Subject is expressed so as to facilitate the explanation, given that the Subject always conflates with the most nuclear participant functions. In Chapter 4 there will be occasion for ample discussion of Subject-drop in Spanish and the textual implications thereof.

3.3.1 Material processes

3.3.1.1 Material and transitive

The principle in transitive processes is one of 'extension-and-impact' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 285), that is, whether the unfolding of the process brought about by the Actor is confined in its outcome to this participant function or extended to another participant, the Goal (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 282). In the former case, the process is one of 'happening' (2004: 285), that is, middle (or ranged middle, which we are calling pseudo-effective here, if there is a Range); if there is extension to a Goal, then the process is effective. From the point of view of the general system, the most nuclear participant in any process type is the Medium. In transitive material processes the Medium conflates with the Actor in middle and pseudo-effective processes and with the Goal in effective processes, where the Actor becomes Agent. In the following paragraphs we discuss these three kinds of transitive material constructions.

The nuclear participant function in a middle process is, therefore, the Actor, which means that a middle transitive material process typically consists of Actor and Process, as illustrated by (17). However, within this kind of processes we also find the so-called meteorological processes, such

as (18) – already seen and discussed above – characterized by the lack of Subject and, therefore, of Actor. It is not that the Actor/Subject is left unexpressed as is often the case in Spanish, but rather that there is no such Actor. As explained in the previous section, these are the only processes without a Medium in Spanish, which makes them the only real impersonal structures in that language, in contrast with other constructions that have traditionally received that name – notably impersonal *se*-constructions – which, as will be seen in due course, are not really impersonal.

Process: material and transitive and middle

(17) *los menores*   *jugaban*   *con otros de sus amiguitos*
      the younger ones   played   with some other friends
      Ac/Me   Process   Circ: accomp

Process: material and transitive and middle; meteorological

(18) *¡está nevando*   *en Granada!*
      is snowing   in Granada!
      Process   Circ: place

   Pseudo-effective transitive material processes such as (19, 20), below, are those that *prima facie* look effective but are not. They include the participant function Scope, which resembles the Goal characteristic of effective processes. The main difference is that in ranged structures the Actor does not act directly upon the other participant, that is, the Scope in material processes; rather, the latter modifies or specifies the scope of the process, hence its name. In Matthiessen and Halliday's words, 'the Scope may construe an entity which exists independently of the process but which indicates the domain over which the process takes place' (2004: 192). As already pointed out, we are following Davidse in treating ranged structures as pseudo-effective rather than as middle in the way it is normally done in the systemic literature. In fact, the Scope – often called Range, the same as the participant function in the general system – is found in effective structures in some descriptions, as in Matthiessen's (1995a: 210) *He gave it a kick*, where *it* is the Goal and *kick* the Scope (Range in that work). This would suggest that ranged structures are not really pseudo-effective, since they can be effective. However, as we will see below, our analysis does not contemplate the possibility of a Scope in effective structures. This participant function can only happen in structures that would otherwise be middle, which automatically precludes the presence of a Goal.

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective;
circumstantial Scope

(19) *su socio Ed Viesturs y él*   *escalaron*   *la montaña*
      his partner Ed V. and he   climbed   the mountain
      Ac/Me   Process   Sc/Ra

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective;
cognate object Scope

(20) *¿Se ve*   *usted*   *jugando al fútbol*   *a los treinta y ocho años?*
      Do you see   yourself   playing football   at thirty-eight?
                  Ac/Me   Process Sco/Ra   Circ: time

One more argument in favour of the categorization of ranged processes (i.e. not just scoped material processes but any process type with a participant conflating with Range in the general system) as a distinct class in itself is that Spanish pseudo-effective processes are for the most part much more unlikely to passivize than effective ones. The distinction thus helps to identify those cases in which the syntactic category called *Direct Object* (RAE 1986; Alcina and Blecua 1982; Seco 1996; Sarmiento and Sánchez 1995), *Implement* (Alarcos Llorach 1987), *Accusative* (Bello 1997), etc. traditionally agglutinating both participant functions in traditional grammars of Spanish, lends itself to passivization and those in which it does not. In Spanish, unlike English, only the Direct Object of an active process can be the Subject of a passive. However, there are times when passivization is problematical even with SVO structures. By looking at the issue not syntactically but from the semantic viewpoint of participant functions, we can see that ranged structures, mostly those with Scope of the kind 'cognate object', do not welcome the passive voice. This is for obvious reasons: The Scope (or the Phenomenon or the Verbiage of mental and verbal processes, respectively) is not as nuclear as the Goal is; thus passives such as (21) and, above all, (22) strike as less 'natural' than the effective passive (23), although they are not as categorically impossible as passives with other participant functions as Subject. For Instance, Seco (1996: 162) compares examples of passive constructions which are not 'normal' but still possible, such as (24) and impossible passives such as (25). We see that the former is a ranged passive whereas the latter reflects the impossibility of having the Circumstance of an active as the Subject of a passive in Spanish.

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective and passive; circumstantial Scope

(21) *¿¿La montaña   fue escalada   repetidas veces*
     The mountain   was climbed   repeatedly

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective and passive; cognate object Scope

(22) *¿?El fútbol   es jugado   mucho   aquí*
     Football   is played   a lot   here

Process: material and transitive and effective and passive

(23) *tres guardias   fueron golpeados   por unos 50 amotinados*
     three guards   were beaten   by some 50 mutineers

(24) *¿?Fruto   ha sido dado   por la planta*
     Fruit   has been given   by the plant

(25) **Casa   será ida   por nosotros*
     Home   will be gone   by us

    The bizarreness and ungrammaticality of (24) and (25), respectively, is also explained by the fact that they are agentive passives, that is, they have an Agent: *por la planta* and *por nosotros*, and Spanish does not particularly welcome the passive voice in those cases. In addition, the Subject Range *Fruto* in (24) is a naked noun, that is, a noun without any determiner or modifier (see Croft 1999: 88) and, as pointed out by López Meirama (1997), naked nouns can never be in pre-verbal position in Spanish. This implies that the only really acceptable realization for that process is the one shown in (26). Conversely, (25) can be re-expressed as (27), which illustrates the way in which Spanish typically copes with textual demands (see Chapter 5), that is, by moving participant functions around rather than by using the passive voice. Examples (28) and (29), in turn, show more standard ways of expressing the intended meaning of (21) and (22), namely by means of third-person plural impersonals (28a, 29a) and *se*-impersonals (28b, 29b).

(26) *La planta   ha dado   fruto*
     The plant   has given   fruit

(27) *A casa   iremos nosotros*
     to home   will go we
     'It'll be us going home'

(28a) *Se*   *escaló*   *la montaña*   *repetidas veces*
      IMP   Climbed   the mountain   repeatedly

(28b) *Escalaron*   *la montaña*   *repetidas veces*
      They climbed   the mountain   repeatedly

(29a) *Aquí*   *se*   *juega*   *mucho al*   *fútbol*
      Here   IMP   play   a lot   football

(29b) *Aquí*   *juegan*   *mucho al*   *fútbol*
      Here   they play   a lot   football

In the preceding discussion we have referred to two different kinds of Scope, that is, circumstantial and cognate object. The former has an intermediate status between participant and circumstance. Thus (19) above could be re-expressed with a circumstance as in (30) below. The difference between both realizations, as pointed out by Davidse (1992: 126) is one of completeness; only the pseudo-effective process implies that the totality of the process – in this case the climbing of the mountain – has been achieved. Processes with Scope of the cognate object type in turn are more open to the inclusion of other participants such as Recipients, as illustrated by (31) and (32). As anticipated above we treat processes like (32) as pseudo-effective with Recipient/Beneficiary – analysis (32a) – rather than as ranged effective – analysis (32b) – as it is sometimes done in the literature (cf. Matthiessen 1995a: 210). It seems to make more sense to circumscribe the use of the Scope to the pseudo-effective category. In fact, although we can find in *IFG*2 that 'the Range in a material process typically occurs in the middle' (Halliday 1994: 148), the third and latest edition seems to adopt a more restrictive stance (see system network in Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 302). The process in (32) also shows something characteristic of Spanish, namely the reduplication of a participant expressed both nominally and pronominally, in this case the Recipient, realized in *a todos* and *le*. The splitting of the functional labels (Rec-/Bene-, -ipient/-ficiary) tries to capture the fact that we are not in front of *two* participants with the same function but rather *one* single participant with split realization. In Chapter 5 we will discuss the textual implications of this phenomenon.

Process: material and transitive and middle

(30) *su socio Ed Viesturs y él*   *escalaron*   *por la montaña*
      his partner Ed V. and he   climbed   on the mountain
      Ac/Me   Process   Circ: place

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective and passive; cognate object Scope; benefactive

(31)	*Si*	*ustedes*	*le*		*cantan*	*alguna canción*
	If	you	him		sing	a song
		Ac/Me	Re/Be		Process	Sc/Ra

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective and passive; cognate object Scope; benefactive

(32a)	*yo*	*les*	*hubiese dado*	*un beso*	*a todos*
	I	them	would have given	a kiss	to all
	Ac/Me	Rec-/Bene-	Process	Sc/Ra	-ipient/-ficiary

'I would have given them all a kiss'

(32b)	*yo*	*les*	*hubiese dado*	*un beso*	*a todos*
	I	them	would have given	a kiss	to all
	*Ac/Ag	*Go-/Me-	Process	Sc/Ra	*-al/-dium

Turning now to effective material processes, these incorporate a Goal, which is Medium in the general system, the Actor becoming Agent. If we look at them from the point of view of Agency, we will say that these processes incorporate an Agent, which conflates with the Actor, whereas the Medium becomes now the Goal. This dual way of looking at the same phenomenon shows the complementariness of the process type and the agency analyses. Examples (33) and (34) illustrate two prototypical transitive effective constructions reflecting the two subtypes of doing found in material transitivity, namely 'creative' and 'transformative'. In the former 'the Actor or Goal is construed as being brought into existence as the process unfolds', whereas in the latter 'a pre-existing Actor or Goal is construed as being transformed as the process unfolds' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 184). When the concerned participant in the distinction is the Actor, then we are talking of a middle or pseudo-effective process. These tend to be of a highly transformative nature, as (17–32) show, so the creative/transformative contrast comes into its own in the effective category, that is, where the participant brought into existence or transformed is the Goal.[7] Thus (33) and (34) clearly answer questions of the type *what did they do?* (*what are they doing?* in the case of 33) and *what did they do to . . .?* (*what will (s)he do to the mike?* in example 34), symptomatic of creative and transformative effective material processes, respectively. The latter may alternatively answer the question *what happened to . . .?,* but, as we will see further on, the corresponding effective process is always ergative.[8]

Process: material and transitive and effective; creative

(33)	*se*	*están construyendo*	*tres nuevos hoteles de cinco estrellas*
	IMP	are building	three new five-star hotels
	Ac/Ag	Process	Go/Me

'They are building three new five-star hotels'

Process: material and transitive and effective; transformative

(34)		*me*	*tirará*	*el micro*	*a la cabeza*
	(she/he)	me	will throw	the mike	to the head
	Ac/Ag	Re/Be	Process	Go/Me	Circ: place

'(S)he'll throw the mike onto my head'

Transitive effective material structures may have an implicit Goal, as we see in (35). There is no Goal expressed, but it is felt. The Goal is left unexpressed because it is of indeterminate nature, referentially speaking, that is, it refers to people or things in general. These structures, which Davidse calls 'inherently Goal-directed' (1992: 108) usually have a high degree of indefiniteness; not only is there an unexpressed Goal but also the Actor tends to be of indefinite nature, as illustrated by (35) and (36), both of them containing *se*-impersonal constructions, more felicitously referred to as constructions of 'indefinite Subject' (RAE 1986: 383).

Process: material and transitive and effective; Goal-directed

(35)	*Se*	*sigue robando, pero menos*
	IMP	keep stealing but less
	Ac/Ag	Process

'They keep stealing, though less (than before)'

(36)	*Por esto*	*se*	*fusilaba, o*	*se*	*asesinaba, entonces*
	For that	IMP	shoot or	IMP	murder then
	Circ: reason	Ac/Ag	Process	Ac/Ag	Process Circ: time

'For that reason did they shoot or murder people back then'

Inherently Goal-directed structures do not usually have a Beneficiary, the participant 'to whom or for whom the process is said to take place' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 293). In material processes, depending on whether it is 'to whom' (*a quien*, in Spanish) or 'for whom' (*para quien*), the Beneficiary is called Recipient or Client, respectively. This participant prototypically appears in either ranged processes, as (32), above, or full-fledged

effective processes, that is, with explicit Goal, for example (37), below. Conversely, examples (38) and (39) illustrate two of the relatively exceptional cases in which inherently Goal-directed material processes contain a Beneficiary, which is always of the Recipient, never the Client, type.[9] *Yoly* in (38) is not analysed because Vocatives, as will be seen in Chapter 4, are interpersonal categories without an experiential role. Incidentally, (38) includes one more example of reduplicated Beneficiary.

Process: material and transitive and effective and benefactive; Beneficiary/Client

(37) *Famoso actor   construye clínica   para Honduras*
      Ac/Ag   Process   Go/Me   Cl/Be
      'Famous Actor builds clinic for Honduras'

Process: material and transitive and effective and benefactive; Goal-directed; Beneficiary/Recipient

(38) *Dame*   *a mí,*   *Yoly*
      Give + me   to me   Yoly
      Process + Rec-/Ben-   -icpient/-eficiary
      'Give me, Yoly'

(39) *no vaya a ser que   nos   sigan robando*
      Lest   us   keep stealing
                                 Re/Be   Process
      'Lest they keep robbing us'

3.3.1.2 Material and ergative

If the transitive model is based on the configuration of Actor + Process and on whether the unfolding of the process is confined in its outcome to the Actor or extended to the Goal (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 282), in ergative processes we look at whether the process actualized through the Affected/Medium is self-engendered or caused by an external Instigator/Agent (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 285). The first thing that stands out is that whereas in transitive processes there is a change in the conflation with functional roles from the general system – that is, Actor/Medium in the middle and pseudo-effective; Actor/Agent in the effective – the conflation Affected/Medium remains constant in ergative material processes whether they be middle, pseudo-effective or effective. This implies that the

most nuclear participant in an ergative process is always the Affected, which is actually susceptible of moving from a middle to an effective construction or vice versa, since one characteristic of ergative processes – not only material but of any type – is that all of them have an effective and a middle version (and, eventually, a pseudo-effective one, too, as will be seen). This is the most straightforward test to tell ergative from transitive processes as claimed in the introductory discussion of this chapter. Thus, whereas none of the verbs partaking in the middle and pseudo-effective transitive constructions seen above (namely *jugar, nevar, escalar, ir, dar*) could realize the Process in an effective structure and, likewise, none of the effective *construir, tirar, robar* or *fusilar* may appear in agentless processes, all of the ergative processes below have middle and effective potential, as seen in the pairs (40, 41).

Process: material and ergative and middle

(40a)	*La puerta*	*se abrió*	*y apareció Briselda*
	The door	opened	and appeared Briselda
	Af/Me	Process	

(41a)	*la pelota*	*botó*	*detrás de la línea de meta*
	the ball	bounced	behind the goal line
	Af/Me	Process	Circ: place

Process: material and ergative and effective

(40b)	*el mayor*	*abrió*	*la puerta principal*	*con el control remoto*
	the major	opened	the main door	with the remote control
	Ins/Ag	Process	Af/Me	Circ: instrument

(41b)	*Higginson*	*botó*	*la pelota*	*seguidamente*	*sobre la pizarra*
	Higginson	bounced	the ball	next	on the slate
	Ins/Ag	Process	Af/Me	Circ: time	Circ: place

Coming back to the afore-mentioned distinction between creative and transformative processes, we said that middle and pseudo-effective transitive material processes were, for the most part, of the transformative kind whereas the effective category included processes that answered questions either of the type *What did they do?* (creative) or *What did they do to?* (transformative). It was also anticipated that transitive effective transformative processes of the kind *What happened to . . . ?* would fall within the ergative

system. This implies that there will be a corresponding middle process responding to the same probe, since ergative processes always have a middle and an effective version, for example (40, 41) above. Not all middle transformative processes, however, are ergative; thus, whereas (40a, 41a) are ergative – that is, they have the effective counterparts (40b, 41b) – (42) and (43) are not, that is, there are no effective versions of the same processes, unless, of course, the verb realizing the Process is changed. The Processes in the transitive examples (44) and (45) can roughly be considered to express effective counterparts to those in (42) and (43).[10]

Process: material and transitive and middle

(42)   *se cayó*   *a la entrada de Zamora*
   (she/he)   fell   at the entrance to Zamora
   Ac/Me   Process   Circ: place
   '(S)he fell when entering Zamora'

(43)   *tropezó*   *con la lámpara de la mesilla*
   (she/he)   stumbled   with the bedside table
   Ac/Me   Process   Circ: instrument
   '(S)he stumbled over the bedside table'

Process: material and transitive and effective

(44) *lo*   *tiraron*   *entre unos arbustos*
   him   (they) threw   among some bushes
   Go/Me Ac/Ag Process   Circ: place
   'They threw him into some bushes'

(45) *A diez minutos del final*   *Roberto zancadilleó a Gordillo   en el área*
   Ten minutes from the end   Roberto tripped   to Gordillo in the area
   Circ: time   Ac/Ag   Process   Go/Me   Circ: place
   'Ten minutes from the end, Roberto tripped Gordillo within the penalty area'

Turning now to pseudo-effective processes, we saw when dealing with the transitive system that there is a participant function, that is, the Scope, which at first sight looks like something else, that is, a Goal. Pseudo-effective processes within the ergative system also contain a participant function which is not what it seems to be: the Pseudo-Instigator. As suggested by its name, this participant recalls an Instigator but, as we are going to see, its involvement in the processes is not an agentive one. Thus, in a

clause such as (46), *Martín* looks like an Instigator when, in fact, he is not doing anything to his arm. Rather, as Davidse explains about this kind of structures in English, the arm breaks on the Subject – hence the label *Setting/Subject* given by Davidse (1992: 128, after Langacker 1991) to what we are calling here *Pseudo-Instigator*. One of the reasons why we opt for the latter label is our identification of the participant function *Instigator* in ergative effective material processes; if there is a function that resembles the Instigator but in fact is not, it makes sense that this function be labelled *Pseudo-Instigator*.

Process: material and ergative and pseudo-effective

(46)	*Martín, el hermano mayor,*	*se rompió*	*un brazo*
	Martín, the eldest brother,	broke	an arm
	Pseudo-Instigator	Process	Af/Me

The Pseudo-Instigator in Spanish seems to have an intermediate status between the Agent it resembles and a Beneficiary. In fact, (46) can be reworded as the middle (47), only with the slight difference that the pseudo-effective construction seems to suggest a higher degree of implication of the Pseudo-Instigator in the process than the Beneficiary in the middle version, even with some degree of responsibility on the part of the Pseudo-Instigator. Thus, a Circumstance of reason such as the one in (48) is more likely to be added to a pseudo-effective process like (46) than to the benefactive middle realization (47). This potential responsibility of the Pseudo-Instigator explains why this pseudo-participant has to be animate in Spanish, unlike in a language such as English, where, as pointed out by Davidse, there can be inanimate Setting/Subjects – that is, Pseudo-Instigators – as in (49). Conversely, its equivalent (50) is not possible in Spanish, the only way of expressing the same meaning being through the benefactive realization in (51).

Process: material and ergative and middle; benefactive

(47)	*A Martín*	*se*	*le*		*rompió*	*un brazo*
	to Martín	REFL	him-DAT		broke	an arm
	Rec-/Bene-	Pro-	-ipient/-ficiary		-cess	Af/Me

(48)	*Martín*		*se rompió*	*un brazo*	*por conducir sin cinturón*
	Martín		broke	an arm	by driving without safety belt
	Pseudo-Instigator		Process	Af/Me	Circ: reason

Process: material and ergative and pseudo-effective; inanimate Pseudo-Instigator

(49) The cooling system burst a pipe

(50) **El sistema de refrigeración se reventó una cañería*

Process: material and ergative and middle; benefactive; inanimate Beneficiary

(51)	*Al sistema de refrigeración*	*se*	*le*		*reventó*	*una cañería*
	to the cooling system	REFL	it-DAT		burst	a pipe
	Rec-/Bene-	Pro-	-ipient/-ficiary-		cess	Af/Me

As a final word on ergative material processes, we are going to say something that, although valid for ergative constructions in general, is epitomized by processes within material TRANSITIVITY. As shown by the examples illustrating the ergative category, there is a tendency for ergative verbs to have a reflexive marking in the middle and the pseudo-effective. This reflexive marking, as can be inferred from the nature of the examples illustrated, is no longer reflexive in meaning. Although the clitic was originally reflexive, 'it became a semantic function which was verbal, i.e. event-centered rather than object centered. This function was that of marking middle events' (Kemmer 1988: 223).[11] The *se* in middle ergatives – as well as in some middle transitives, for example, *caerse* (fall), *irse* (leave) – is one of the five kinds of the clitic found in Spanish, this being the only one which is part of the verb realizing the Process. The other four kinds of *se* are: reflexive *se* proper (52), reciprocal *se* (53), impersonal *se* (54) and passive *se* (55).

Process: material and transitive and effective; reflexive

(52)	*Damián Dugarte*	*se*	*afeitó*	*y*	*se*	*vistió*
	Damián Dugarte	REFL	shaved	and	REFL	dressed
	Ac/Ag	Go/Me	Process		Go/Me	Process

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective; reciprocal

(53)	*Patty y Diego*	*se*	*dieron*	*un beso*	*en la mejilla*
	Patty and Diego	REFL	gave	a kiss	on the cheek
	Ac/Ag	Re/Be	Process	Sc/Ra	Circ: place

Process: material and transitive and effective; *se*-impersonal

(54) *cada cuatro segundos se   vende un álbum con las aventuras de Tin Tin*
      every four seconds   IMP   sell   an album with Tin Tin's adventures
      Circ: frequency   Ac/Ag Process Go/Me
      'an album with Tin Tin's adventures is sold every four seconds'

Process: material and transitive and effective; *se*-passive

(55) *desgraciadamenty en España no   se   venden huevos de a de ave fría*
      unfortunately   in Spain   NEG PASS   sell   'a' eggs of lapwing
                Circ: place Pro- Ac/Ag -cess Go/Me
      'Unfortunately, they don't sell A-class lapwing eggs in Spain'

The SF interpretation of the different kinds of *se* in Spanish has been undertaken in Arús (2006) and we will not delve into it here. We are simply going to point out the basic differences among the five types of the clitic, as illustrated by the examples above. The five kinds of *se* can be grouped into three general classes, that is, reflexive and reciprocal (52, 53), where the clitic is either Medium or Beneficiary, verbal clitic (middle ergatives) and impersonal and passive (54, 55), where *se* is analysed as Actor/Medium or Actor/Agent because, as pointed out by the RAE (Spanish Academy of Language), *se*-impersonal are constructions of indefinite Subject rather than impersonal proper (RAE 1986: 383). We take, therefore, the clitic to realize the indefinite Subject/Actor. In fact, *se* could be replaced with, for instance, *alguien* ('someone'), where the indefinite meaning would be preserved and the same analysis would apply. By extension, since *se*-passive constructions fulfil the same discursive role as *se*-impersonals, to the point that – the nature of participants permitting – they are used indistinctively by speakers (see Molina 1997), it seems sensible to assign the same experiential function to passive *se* as to impersonal *se*. When the Complement – whether Medium or Range – is in singular, it is actually impossible to tell whether the process is impersonal or passive, since the only overt difference resides in the concordance in the latter of the Complement with the verb. A plural Complement will normally take a plural verb, thus yielding a passive construction, for example (55). It is for that reason that in processes with both singular verb and Complement, the impersonal analysis is favoured, even if, in principle, there are no grounds to claim that a process such as (54) is impersonal rather than passive or vice versa.[12]

The three groups of *se*-constructions can be further reduced to two if we look at the morphological nature of the clitic. Reflexive, pronominal and verbal *se* all share the fact that they are pronominal, that is, they refer only to third-person singular or plural, the other persons requiring a change of pronoun (*me, te, nos, os*) as we can see in (56) and (57), modified versions, for the sake of illustration, of (52) and (53), respectively. On the other hand, impersonal and passive *se* are non-pronominal as there is no alternation with other forms (see Gómez 1998).

(56) **me**   *afeité*   *y*   **me**   *vestí*
      REFL-1s   shaved   and   REFL-1s   dressed
      Go/Me   Processs   Go/Me   Process

(57) *Patty y yo*   **nos**   *dimos*   *un beso*   *en la mejilla*
      Patty and I   REFL-1p   gave   a kiss   on the cheek
      Ac/Ag   Re/Be   Process   Sc/Ra   Circ: place

The examples used to illustrate different *se*-constructions in (52–55) are all transitive. In the case of ergative constructions, there is a formal coincidence between *se*-passive or *se*-impersonal and verbal, that is, middle ergative, *se*-constructions. Thus, if we take the process used in (40a) to illustrate middle ergative processes, this may be interpreted not only as we did above and now show again as (58a) but also, in principle, as the impersonal (58b). However, although this is formally so, the global meaning of the clause complex seems to make the middle interpretation more plausible. Ultimately, what favours the verbal *se* interpretation over the impersonal or passive ones is that ergative processes are Medium centred (see Davidse 1992: 110). An indefinite Agent, by its very nature, would not contribute much to the meaning of the process, hence the unlikelihood of the impersonal or passive interpretations unless these are made clear by the context, as in (59), where the added time Circumstance and the change of tense provide the setting for an impersonal interpretation.

Process: material and ergative and middle
(58a) *La puerta*   *se abrió*   *y apareció Briselda*
       The door   opened   and appeared Briselda
       Af/Me   Process

Process: material and ergative and effective; *se*-impersonal
(58b) *La puerta*   *se*   *abrió*   *y apareció Briselda*
       The door   IMP   opened   and appeared Briselda
       Af/Me   Ac/Ag   Process

(59) | *La puerta* | *se* | *abrirá* | *al final del espectáculo* |
|---|---|---|---|
| The door | IMP | will open | at the end of the show |
| Af/Me | Ac/Ag | Process | Circ: time |

Although middle ergatives include several different classes of *se*-constructions as identified in the literature (see Arús 2006: 143–144 for a summary of these), the bulk of them roughly coincide with what have traditionally been called *middle clauses*. These have the following characteristics, according to Onieva (1985: 48):

  (i) Inanimate grammatical Subject
 (ii) Presence of *se*
(iii) Transitive verb[13]

This categorization would include processes of the kind (40a: *Las puertas se abrieron*) and exclude those of the sort (41a: *la pelota botó . . .*), for having no clitic, or (60), on account of its animate Subject. Most middle ergative processes, though, bear the clitic and the immense majority typically have an inanimate Subject, which means that most middle ergatives correspond to the traditional middle clauses as characterized by Onieva. This author establishes the following differences between middle clauses and *se*-passive constructions:

  (i) In *se*-passives there is always reference to an agent, which is never explicit; in middle clauses, the agent may be explicit – never, of course, as an Agent proper but as a Circumstance, as in (61).
 (ii) In *se*-passives the unexpressed agent is always human; in middle clauses, whether explicit or not, the agent is always non-human.

(60) | *Alicia* | *se sonrojó* | *levemente* |
|---|---|---|
| Alicia | blushed | slightly |
| Af/Me | Process | Circ: degree |

Process: material and ergative and middle; agent realized as Circumstance

(61) | *la ceja derecha . . .* | *se* | *le* | *abrió* | *con un cabezazo involuntario de Holyfield* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| the right eyebrow | op- | him | -ened | with an involuntary butt of Holyfield's |
| Af/Me | | Pro- Re/Be -cess | | Circ: means |

'His right eyebrow was split open by an involuntary butt from Holyfield'

We have seen, therefore, that there is a thin dividing line between certain kinds of *se*-constructions, notably between impersonal and passive, and between both of these and middle ergatives. Whereas the functional distinction of the first pair is irrelevant – grammar being the only criterion to tell them apart – there are semantic considerations underlying the difference between that functionally homogeneous pair and middle ergatives, mostly having to do with the degree of agentivity felt in the process. Middle ergatives seem to be those where the agent is felt the least due to their Medium-centredness, the inanimate nature of the unexpressed agent and, mostly, the fact that impersonal and passive *se*-constructions are effective, the human, indeterminate Agent being realized by the clitic itself.

The discussion on the different types of *se*-constructions brought up by the description of middle ergative material processes has been circumscribed to material TRANSITVITY. This is the area of the lexicogrammar that provides the best environment for such discussion because, verbs realizing material processes being the most varied and abundant, it is within the system of material TRANSITIVITY that we can find the widest range of realizations of all *se* structures. However, as we will see in the following sections, all the commonalities and differences between the five types of *se*-constructions pinpointed in the previous paragraphs are valid for all process types.

3.3.2 Mental processes

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 201–207) identify a series of properties of mental processes:

(i)   There is always one participant who is human or human-like, the Senser, that is, the one that feels, thinks, wants or perceives. This participant is therefore of more restricted nature than the Actor of material processes, which can be human or non-human.

(ii) The other main participant, that which is felt, thought, wanted or perceived, is the Phenomenon. This participant is of more general referential nature since the set of things that can take on the role is actually wider than the set of participants in a material clause. As we will see in due course, Phenomena often are not just things but also acts or facts.

(iii) The unmarked tense in mental clauses, unlike that of material clauses is the Present Continuous.

(iv) The last property has to do with the impossibility of substituting a mental process with the probe verb *do*; this contrasts in English with material processes, replaceable by *do*, and has a parallelism in Spanish, where we can ask *¿Qué **hizo** Pedro?* (What did Peter **do**?) eliciting an answer such as *cerró la puerta* (he closed the door), but not one such as *supo la respuesta* (he knew the answer).

In the first two editions of *IFG*, Halliday (1985: 110; 1994: 116) adds a fifth property, that is, the 'two-way' nature of several mental processes, by which either the Senser or the Phenomenon can be the Subject without changing the voice. This is indeed also true for Spanish, where there are such pairs as (62a, b), pseudo-effective and effective, respectively, as we will see later on. The bidirectionality criterion is removed from the list of properties of mental processes in *IFG3* – which seems plausible as it is by no means pervasive – and is now used as evidence suggesting the need for a different semantic interpretation from the Actor-Goal trail of material processes, where this phenomenon is not found (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 200).

(62a) *Los niños*   *disfrutaron* *el espectáculo*
      The children enjoyed   the show
      Se/Me   Process   Ph/Ra

(62b) *Les*   *gustó*   *el espectáculo*
      them   pleased   the show
      Se/Me   Process   Ph/Ag

The bidirectional nature of some mental processes can be taken to be a by-product, and a manifestation, of an essential difference between material and mental processes, that is, the Senser-centredness of **all** mental processes. Whereas in material processes the most nuclear participant, that is, the Medium, conflates with the Actor in middle and pseudo-effective transitive constructions, with the Goal in effective transitive ones, and with the Affected in all ergatives, all mental processes show the conflation of Senser and Medium, both in the transitive and the ergative systems. In spite of this syncretism, the transitive/ergative split still applies since, as we are going to see, some mental processes can be middle and effective, that is, ergative, whereas others – the majority – can only be either middle or effective. In addition, we will see that mental processes, as was the case with the material, have in the pseudo-effective category the paragon of the uniqueness of each constellation.

3.3.2.1 Mental and transitive

As a first step in the description of transitive mental processes, we need to explain the systems of SENSING-TYPE and PHENOMENALIZATION, represented in Figure 3.3. Whereas the former distinguishes between processes with different grammatical realizations, the nature of the phenomenon will have an effect on whether the process is middle, pseudo-effective or effective, that is, choices in the system of AGENCY largely depend on the kind of Phenomenon selected. In turn, the choice of type of Phenomenon is dependent on the subtype of mental process, that is, the choice made in the system of SENSING-TYPE, as will be seen later on.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 208) state that the different subtypes of sensing 'differ with respect to phenomenality, directionality, gradability, potentiality and ability to serve as metaphors of modality'. The same statement is good for Spanish mental processes. Perhaps the clearest example of how mental subtypes are different from one another is found in the
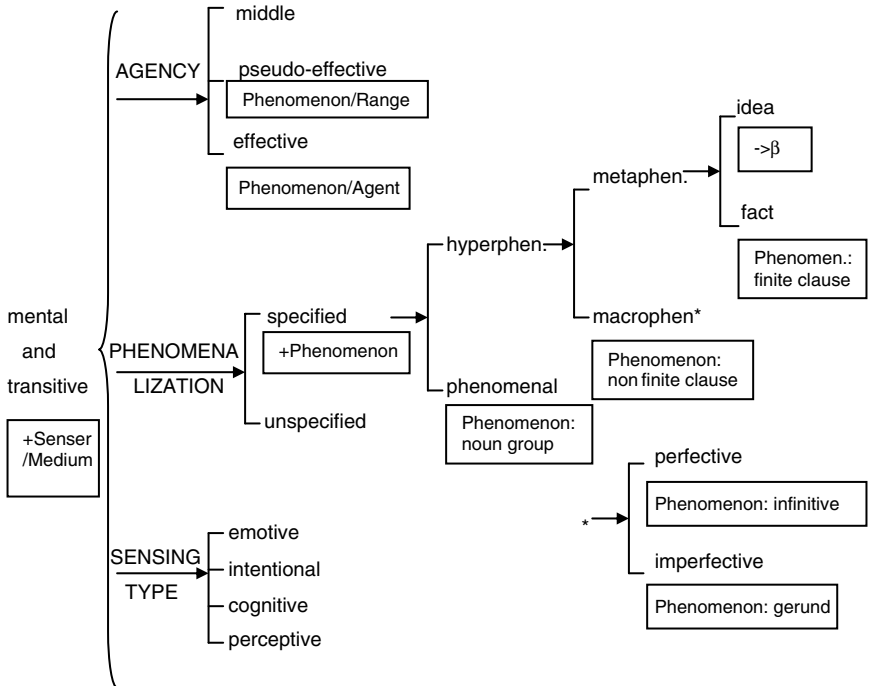
FIGURE 3.3   Most general mental and transitive system network

above-mentioned bidirectionality of some mental processes, since all bidi-rectional processes are of the emotive type (see examples 62a, b, above). The other most outstanding contrast among process subtypes concerns phenomenality. As said in the previous paragraph, the choice of type of Phenomenon goes hand in hand with choices in the system of AGENCY; therefore, we will now give an overview of middle, pseudo-effective and effective mental processes, which will allow us to show which kind of Phe-nomenon is characteristic of each category and will facilitate our under-standing of the nature of the system of PHENOMENALIZATION.

Middle mental processes within the transitive paradigm are typically rep-resented by clauses with the Senser as only participant. Since the Senser is supposed to sense 'something', this 'something', that is, the Phenomenon, is often felt to be there even when it is not explicit, that is, it is left *unspecified*, following the terminology in Figure 3.3 (after Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 209). This is illustrated by (63): there always is something or someone responsible for one's enjoyment. In fact, the CREA corpus, the corpus from which these examples are drawn, shows that there is a preference for the specification of the entity responsible for the sensing, which in middle proc-esses happens either by means of a Circumstance of cause: reason (64) or projected idea as metaphenomenon (65). The metaphenomenon: idea is the only choice within specified PHENOMENALIZATION which is not a participant. As specified in the system network in Figure 3.3, ideas are ana-lysed as projected clauses without a transitive role; that is why a process such as (65) is middle, as opposed to the pseudo-effective and effective ones that we will see next.

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and middle;
phenomenalization unspecified

(63) *Ellos*   *disfrutaron*   *de lo lindo*
     They   enjoyed   big time
     Se/Me   Process   Circ: degree

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and middle;
Circumstance: cause: reason

(64) *alumnos de la escuela Américo Vespucio, disfrutaron intensamente de las pruebas*
     students of the Americo Vespucio school enjoyed intensely of the tests
     Se/Me   Process   Circ: degree   Circ: reason
     'Students of the A.V. school enjoyed the tests immensely'

Process: mental: intentional and transitive and middle; metaphenomenon: idea

(65) *el pueblo*   *quiere*   *que usted ceda la corona ya*
      the people   wants   that you give up your crown already
      Se/Me   Process   →   β (idea)
      'The people want you to give up your crown now'

It may be argued that what we are taking to be a Circumstance of cause: reason in (64) could as well be analysed as a Phenomenon/Range realized by a prepositional phrase. We consider however that treating the prepositional phrase as a Circumstance foregrounds the contrast between a middle realization such as (64) and what would be its pseudo-effective version *Los alumnos de la escuela Américo Vespucio disfrutaron intensamente **las pruebas**,* that is, with Noun Group as Phenomenon/Range, which is arguably felt as more directly involved in the enjoyment experienced by the Senser. Whereas the realization with prepositional phrase in (64) would suggest that the students were mere spectators, the realization with Noun Group would be used in the case that the students had themselves been the competitors. This distinction, as suggested by the translation provided for (64), is not explicitly manifest in English, where the pseudo-effective realization is imposed.

The discussion on middle mental processes has so far allowed us to see the choices within the system of PHENOMENALIZATION available in this category, that is, unspecified and specified: hyperphenomenal: metaphenomenal: idea. We turn now to selections within the system of SENSING-TYPE and its co-selections with PHENOMENALIZATION. Examples (63) and (64) above illustrate emotive processes, whereas (65) is intentional. Middle emotive processes in general follow the patterns seen above, that is, they co-select with unspecified Phenomenon, either with or without a Circumstance of reason alluding to that Phenomenon. Middle intentional processes are also epitomized by the example seen above, that is, they typically include a projected idea, although the realization with unspecified Phenomenon – albeit less common – is also possible, as shown in (66) below.

Process: mental: intentional and transitive and middle; phenomenalization unspecified

(66) *El periodista*   *se negó en rotundo*
      The journalist   refused   by all means
      Se/Me   Process   Circ: degree

The two other subtypes of mental processes are the cognitive and the perceptive. The former includes in the middle category processes with unspecified (67) or ideal (68) phenomenalization, whereas the latter favours the unspecified option, as illustrated by (69). As we see, then, the possibility of re-expressing the would-be Phenomenon as a Circumstance is circumscribed to emotive processes.

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and middle; phenomenalization unspecified

(67) ¿*entiendes*?
      understand?
      Process
      'Do you understand?'

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and middle; metaphenomenon: idea

(68) *ella*   *creía*   *que yo estaba muerto*
      She   believed   that I was dead
      Se/Me   Process   →   idea
      'She thought I was dead'

Process: mental: perceptive and transitive and middle; phenomenalization unspecified

(69) *de cerca*   *no veo*   *bien,*   *pero* *de lejos*   *veo*   *divinamente*
      from near   I don't see well   but   from far   I see   wonderfully
      Circ: place Process   Circ: quality Circ: place Process Circ: degree
      'I don't see well at short distance but I see extremely well at long distance'

Moving on now to the pseudo-effective category, it is here that we find most mental realizations, since it is the usual thing to specify the Phenomenon and this is often expressed as Range, the conflation Phenomenon/ Agent being found only in the emotive subtype. It is thus here that we find all the array of possible kinds of Phenomenon, and the possibilities of co-selections with the system of SENSING-TYPE multiply.

Emotive pseudo-effective processes may have either a thing (70) or a fact (71) as Phenomenon. A factual Phenomenon, unlike an idea, is not brought into existence by someone; it rather exists in its own right (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 205). We can see in (71) that the 'fact' clause may be introduced by *the fact, the notion, the possibility*, etc. as explained by Halliday

and Matthiessen (2004: 470–71). In this particular case, something could be said like the following: *siento el hecho de ser tan cruda* ('I'm sorry about the fact that I'm so blunt'). Although it sounds rather unnatural both in Spanish and in English, we simply need to resort to a different kind of rhetorical structure to see how the inclusion of *the fact* is more welcome, for example, *es el hecho de ser tan cruda lo que siento* ('it is the fact of being so blunt that I'm sorry about').

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and pseudo-effective; phenomenal

(70) *Y*   *adoro*   *la juventud*
      and   love   youth
             Process   Ph/Ra
      'And I love youth'

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and pseudo-effective; metaphenomenon: fact

(71) *siento*   *ser tan cruda*
      lament   to be so blunt
      Process   Ph/Ra
      'I'm sorry to be so blunt'

Intentional and cognitive pseudo-effective processes have more limited phenomenal combinations, the Phenomenon in these being typically a thing, as illustrated by (72) and (73). It would not be too far fetched to assume that the absence of factual Phenomena in these two mental sub-types is due to the fact that these are the mental processes that usually project an idea, as seen above, that is, their means of specifying the range of the mental process when this is not a thing is through projection rather than factual clause.

Process: mental: intentional and transitive and pseudo-effective; phenomenal

(72) *prefirieron*   *el anonimato*
      preferred   anonymity
      Process   Ph/Ra
      'They preferred anonymity'

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and pseudo-effective; phenomenal

(73) *¿tú*   *entiendes*   *ese término jubilación?*
      You   understand   that term *retirement?*
      Se/Me   Process   Ph/Ra

A

Finally, the subtype of perceptive mental processes coincides with the intentional in the possibility of choosing a thing or a fact as Phenomenon, as seen in (74) and (75), respectively. In addition, perceptive processes are the only ones that may – and often do – choose a macrophenomenon, that is, Phenomenon as act rather than Phenomenon as thing or fact (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 204). The example in (76) corresponds to an imperfective macrophenomenon, that is, with a Present participial clause, as opposed to what would be a perfective version of the same processes, *vimos a unos chicos correr* ('we saw some kids run'), that is, with a bare Infinitive. As Halliday and Matthiessen point out, the difference between these two different macrophenomenal is 'a temporal one: the participial clause represents the process as unbounded in time, while the infinitival one represents it as bounded in time' (2004: 204).

Process: mental: perceptive and transitive and pseudo-effective; phenomenal

(74) *vimos*   *una liebre*
     saw   a hare
     Process Ph/Ra
     'We saw a hare'

Process: mental: perceptive and transitive and pseudo-effective; metaphenomenon: fact

(75) *ya*   *veo*   *que no estás*
     already   see   that you're not
     Circ: time Process Ph/Ra
     'I can see you're not there'

Process: mental: perceptive and transitive and pseudo-effective; macrophenomenon: imperfective

(76) *vimos*   *a unos chicos corriendo*
     saw   some kids running
     Process Ph/Ra
     'We saw some kids running'

Turning to effective mental transitivity, the prototypical case here is that of emotive structures, which, as pointed out above, include most bidirectional processes, that is, those where either the Senser or the Phenomenon can be the Subject. It is precisely when the Phenomenon is Subject that the process is effective, since the Phenomenon conflates in those cases with the Agent in the general system, as illustrated by (77). The bidirectionality

is a property practically restricted to emotive processes: although some examples can be found in other areas of mental TRANSITIVITY in which the direction of the sensing goes from Phenomenon to Senser, such as the perceptive (78), these realizations do not have a pseudo-effective counterpart that would allow a *please/like* sort of alternation.

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and effective; phenomenal

(77)	*nos*	*complace*	*profundamente*	*su visita a esta Cámara*
	us	pleases	deeply	your visit to this Chamber
	Se/Me	Process	Circ: degree	Ph/Ag

'Your visit to this Chamber greatly pleases us'

Process: mental: perceptive and transitive and effective; phenomenal

(78)	*lo que bebí*	*me*	*supo*	*bien*
	What I drank	me	tasted	well
	Ph/Ag	Se/Me	Process	Circ: quality

'What I drank tasted good (to me)'

Example (77) and, above all, such frequent realizations as (62b: *les gustó el espectáculo*), seen above, could make us question the whole issue of the bidirectionality in Spanish mental TRANSITIVITY. These constructions are certainly effective, since the Phenomenon is Subject and, therefore, Agent. However, one would get the impression that there is something pseudo-effective about them, that is, the fact that they unfold from Senser to Phenomenon, in the very same way as pseudo-effective mental constructions do. Thus, the above-seen processes (62a, b) – renumbered now as (79a, b) below – show the same order in the unfolding of participants, that is, from Senser to Phenomenon, regardless of their being effective (79a) or pseudo-effective (79b). It could be argued that (79b) does by no means convey a more effective meaning than (79a). However, it must be reminded at this point that Spanish is a language in which information-related and/or other semantic motivations are the ones that determine the order of participants in a process. In certain contexts, the process in (79b) could be realized as *el espectáculo les gustó*, with the Phenomenon preceding the Senser, where the effective nature of the process seems to be more evident. The reason why the realization in (79b) is far more common, that is, unmarked, than the one with thematized Phenomenon is that in the realm of the mental we tend to speak of people – Sensers – and give information about the things they feel, perceive, think, etc. – the Phenomena, that is, we thematize the Senser and leave the Phenomenon as New (see Chapter 4). The peculiarity

of realizations with *gustar* in Spanish resides in the fact that there is no verb in Spanish allowing the expression of that meaning pseudo-effectively,[14] since constructions with, for instance, *disfrutar* are more marked – and therefore not a first choice – than with *gustar*.

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and pseudo-effective; phenomenal

(79a) | *Los niños* | *disfrutaron* | *el espectáculo* |
|---|---|---|
| The children | enjoyed | the show |
| Se/Me | Process | Ph/Ra |

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and effective; phenomenal

(79b) | *Les* | *gustó* | *el espectáculo* |
|---|---|---|
| them | pleased | the show |
| Se/Me | Process | Ph/Ag |

Regarding the kind of Phenomenon that can be the Subject in a transitive effective mental process, they tend to be of the phenomenal type – that is, realized by a Noun Group, as (77) and (79b) above. As for (78), we take *lo que bebí* ('what I drank') to be a Phenomenon of the same nature as those in (77) and (79b) because *what-* clauses – also called nominal relative clauses – act as Noun Groups. Thus, (78) could be reworded as we do in (80), below (see, RAE 1986: 218–219; Downing and Locke 2006: 46). The other type of Phenomenon that is found in effective mental transitivity is the factual Phenomenon, as illustrated by example (81). On the other hand, ideas – because they are not clause constituents, and cannot therefore be Agents – and macrophenomena – because they are typical of perceptive processes, in which the Phenomenon always conflates with the Range – are not options in the effective category.

(80) | *la cosa que bebí* | *me* | *gustó* |
|---|---|---|
| the thing I drank | me | liked |
| Ph/Ag | Se/Me | Process |

'I liked the thing I drank'

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and effective; metaphenomenon: fact

(81) | *no* | *le* | *gustaba* | *hablar del tema* |
|---|---|---|---|
| not | him | liked | to talk about the subject |
| Pro- | Se/Me | -cess | Ph/Ag |

'He didn't like talking about the subject'

Phenomenon as Subject is practically the only way in which a transitive mental process can be effective. A few other processes, illustrated by (82), could be taken to be effective in that an external agent other than the Phenomenon produces the mental process. In the case of (82), that external agent would be *Mi primo Mike Pérez*, and the action would be an effective equivalent of *aprendí a patinar* ('I learned to skate'). As our analysis of (82) shows, however, we take this sort of construction to be material rather than mental, since it easily answers the question *what did my cousin do to me?* In any case, this is an example of a non-prototypical material process, precisely by virtue of its high mental 'flavour'. The existence of non-prototypical constructions, rather than represent a hindrance to our description, is to be taken as a confirmation of the continuum that language is, that is, process types do not form cell-compartments; much on the contrary, the lexicogrammar reveals a smooth transition from the different areas of TRANSITIVITY into the others.

(82) *Mi primo Mike Pérez*   *me*   *enseñó*   *a patinar*
    My cousin Mike Pérez   me   taught   to skate
    Ac/Ag   Re/Be   Process   Sc/Ra
    'My cousin Mike Pérez taught me how to skate'

Table 3.1   SENSING-TYPE and PHENOMENALIZATION co-selections in transitive structures

SENSING-TYPE ↓	AGENCY ↓	PHENOMENALIZATION ↓		Hyperphenomenal		
				Metaphenomenal		
		Unspecified	Phenomenal	Fact	Idea	Macrophenomenal
Emotive	Middle	(63)			(65)	
	Pseudo		(70)	(71)		
	Effective		(77)	(81)		
Intentional	Middle	(66)				
	Pseudo		(72)			
	Effective					
Cognitive	Middle	(67)			(68)	
	Pseudo		(73)			
	Effective					
Perceptive	Middle	(69)				
	Pseudo		(74)	(75)		(76)
	Effective		(78)			

As a wrap-up to the description of transitive mental processes, and before moving on to the ergative system, we summarize in Table 3.1 the possible co-selections between options from the systems of SENSING-TYPE and PHENOMENALIZATION. Cells either include the example numbers illustrating each structure in the previous pages or are greyed to indicate co-selections which do not happen.

3.3.2.2 Mental and ergative

In our discussion of material ergativity we saw that one characteristic of processes within that system is the absence of ranged structures. The same applies to mental ergative processes, with the implications that this brings along in terms of the expression of phenomenality, often associated in the transitive system to the Range function. As we are going to see, mental ergative processes are characterized by not having a Phenomenon/Range – at least not realizing it as a participant even if the phenomenality is sometimes felt. This in a way curtails the effect of ergativity in mental lexicogrammar, where it is, except for a couple of cognitive processes, circumscribed to the area of emotions, as reflected on the system network in Figure 3.4. In that specific area, however, ergativity is as productive as transitivity.

The most distinguishable outward sign of mental processes within the ergative system is, as we saw with material ergatives, their having as Process verbs that may partake in both middle and effective realizations, with a tendency to mark the former by means of reflexive marking. As was also the case in material ergativity, we will see that some of the verbs can also trigger pseudo-effective constructions. Middle ergative mental processes typically have a Senser experiencing some kind of emotion, as shown by (83–85), or cognitive process, for example (86) and (87). As we can see, (87) projects an idea. We saw in the discussion of transitive mental processes, above, that cognitive processes can project ideas; this is in fact the only sort of explicit phenomenality, which nicely fits with the general pattern of ergative constructions having no Range, since, as will be remembered, ideas are the only kind of phenomenalization that does not fulfil an experiential role.

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and middle

(83) *Entonces,*   *bueno,*   *me animé*
     Then   well   [I] cheered up
                               Process
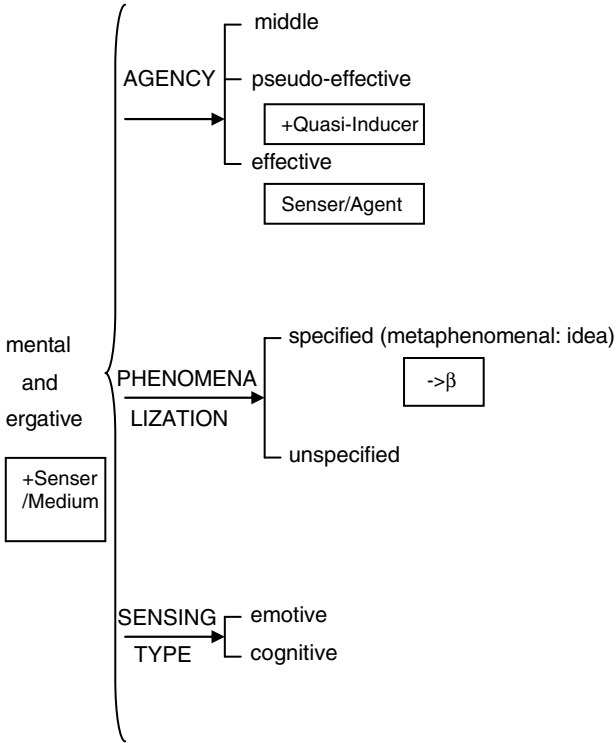
FIGURE 3.4   Most general mental and ergative system network

(84) *Tú*   *no te preocupes*
     You   don't worry
     Se/Me   Process

(85) *Möller*   *se molestó*   *por sus continuas suplencias*
     Möller   resented   for his continuous absences
     Se/Me   Process   Circ: reason
     'Möller resented his continuously being left out of the starting team'

Process: mental: cognitive and ergative and middle

(86) *nunca*   *se persuadió*   *de lo que decía*
     never   [he] persuaded of what he said
     Circ: time Process   Circ: matter
     'He was never persuaded by what he said'

(87) | *al poco tiempo* | *me convencí* | *de que era demasiado tarde* |
| in little time | [I] convinced | that it was too late |
| Circ: time | Process | → | β (idea) |

'Soon after, I persuaded myself that it was too late'

Pseudo-effective mental processes within this system are those in which the causer of the mental process is expressed, yet – unlike in the effective ergatives that we will see next – is not realized as the agent thereof but as a category specific to this construction-type, that is, the Quasi-Inducer. If we have a look at examples (88) and (89), we can see that the mental processes of *asustarse* and *sorprenderse* are in fact induced by *el mal* and *el lugar escogido*, respectively. However, these are not realized as participants of the processes, since, to start with, Agents are never realized by prepositional phrases except in the passive voice. They could in fact at first sight be taken for Circumstances of cause: reason, although these are typically realized in Spanish by *por*-prepositional phrases. Formally, the prepositional phrases in (88) and (89) resemble Circumstances of matter, often realized in Spanish by *de*-prepositional phrases. Matter, however, is associated in mental processes with the cognitive subtype – see (90) below – and is realized by prepositions other than *de*, this preposition being the starting element in Circumstances of matter projected by verbal, rather than mental, clauses, as (91) illustrates.

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and pseudo-effective

(88) | *los sacerdotes* | *no nos asustamos* | *del mal* |
| the priests | don't fear | of evil |
| Se/Me | Process | Quasi-Inducer |

'us priests don't fear evil'

(89) | *todos* | *se sorprendieron* | *del lugar escogido* |
| All | surprised | of the place chosen |
| Se/Me | Process | Quasi-Inducer |

'They all were surprised by the place chosen'

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and middle; Circumstance: matter

(90) | ¿*Pero* | *en qué* | *piensas* | *tú, pequeño monstruo?* |
| But | in what | think | you, little monster? |
| | Circ: matter | Process | Se/Me |

'But what are you thinking about (what do you have in mind), little monster?'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; Circumstance: matter

(91) *los interlocutores*   *no estaban hablando*   *de lo mismo*
         the interlocutors   were not talking   of the same
         Sa/Me   Process: verbal   Ve/Ra
         'The interlocutors were not talking about the same thing'

Example (85), above, shows a mental ergative process with a real Circumstance of cause: reason. The contrast with (88) and (89) is clear. Whereas (85) is undoubtedly a middle process with a circumstance, (88) and (89) look like middle realizations with a certain trace of agency. It is precisely here that their pseudo-effective character lies: the realizations under discussion look like Circumstances but feel like Agents in a way that reminds of how Pseudo-Instigators in ergative pseudo-effective material processes look like Agents but have semantic traits of Beneficiaries. We are in the face, then, of constructions with the same experiential constituents as effective processes (see below for these) but in which the functions of those constituents are different. This is precisely what characterizes pseudo-effective processes, and this why we identify the role 'Quasi-Inducer', which contrasts with the material 'Pseudo-Instigator' in that whereas the former is more of an agent than it seems to be, the latter is less of an agent than it looks.

Turning now to effective ergative mental constructions, we find a participant function – that is, the Inducer – that not only causes the sensing but is also *expressed* as the direct causer of the mental process. All pseudo-effective ergatives are susceptible 'effectivization' by turning the Quasi-Inducer into an Inducer/Agent. Thus both (88) and (89) above have the effective versions *el mal no nos asusta a los sacerdotes* ('evil does not frighten us priests') and *el lugar escogido sorprendió a todos* ('the place chosen surprised everyone'). It may be argued that the effective version of (88) sounds more effective than that of (89). This is simply due to the nature of the Inducer, 'evil' being typically associated with human-like traits such as volition or animacy lacking in the concept of 'place' and therefore lending itself better to being used as an Agent. However, it suffices to remove the postmodification from the nominal group in (89) for the agentivity to become less demanding, both in English and Spanish: *el lugar sorprendió a todos* ('the place surprised everyone'). Examples (92) and (93) illustrate actual effective realizations with *asustar* and *sorprender* from the CREA corpus; (94) and (95), in turn, show constructions with two of the few cognitive ergative Processes in Spanish. As we can see, (94) and (95) are approximate effective versions of the middle (86) and (87) above, with the causer of the conviction or the persuasion experienced by the Senser expressed as such, that is, as the Inducer.

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and effective

(92) | *le* | *asustó* | *su conducta* |
| him | frightened | his behaviour |
| Se/Me | Process | Ind/Ag |

'His behaviour frightened him'

(93) | *Por eso* | *me* | *sorprende* | *su comentario* |
| For that | me | surprises | his remark |
| Circ: reason | Se/Me | Process | Ind/Ag |

'For that reason his remark surprises me'

Process: mental: cognitive and ergative and effective

(94) | *[ellos]* | *le* | *persuadieron,* | *siguiendo instrucciones de Manglano* |
| [they] | him | persuaded | following instructions from Manglano |
| Ind/Ag | Se/Me | Process | Circ: cause |

'They persuaded him, under Manglano's instructions'

(95) | *el Partido* | *me* | *convenció* | *de que era importante para el Movimiento* |
| the Party | me | convinced | of that it was important for the Movement |
| Ind/Ag | Se/Me | Process | → β (idea) |

Table 3.2 recapitulates what we have seen in the previous paragraphs regarding ergative mental processes, notably the absence of Phenomena as participant functions and the confinement to the field of emotion except for a few cognitive realizations. In fact, the ergative paradigm is only fully developed in emotive TRANSITIVITY, where pseudo-effective constructions are found, unlike within ergative cognition, where only middle and effective realizations exist. The non-existence of participant Phenomena points to a difference between transitive and ergative effective mental constructions; whereas the Phenomenon/Agent in effective mental transitives is necessary for the sensing – typically an emotion; occasionally a perception – to happen (see above, examples 77, 78, 79b, 81) the Inducer/Agent is simply presented as causing an emotion or cognition which may otherwise happen without explicit external help, as attested by the middle versions of the same processes (see 84–87). This is particularly obvious in cognitive processes, where, as illustrated by (95), there can be both an Inducer/Agent and an idea – that is, a projected, non-participant kind of Phenomenon – thus showing that, unlike in mental transitives, the sensing is not brought about by the Phenomenon but by a participant, often human, external to the sensing.

Table 3.2 SENSING-TYPE and PHENOMENALIZATION co-selections in ergative structures

SENSING-TYPE	AGENCY	PHENOMENALIZATION		Hyperphenomenal		
					Metaphenomenal	
		Unspecified	Phenomenal	Fact	Idea	Macrophenomenal
Emotive	Middle	(83, 84, 85)				
	Pseudo	(88, 89)				
	Effective	(92, 93)				
Cognitive	Middle	(86)			(87)	
	Pseudo					
	Effective	(94)			(95)	

Before concluding the section on mental TRANSITIVITY, we would like to make a final remark on mental ergative processes. These processes are yet one more example of the gradability of the linguistics system. If we take the ergative effective processes seen above, one can observe that all of them can, to a larger or a lesser extent, answer the question *what did x do to y?* which is the probe for material, not mental, processes. This makes sense, given that the variable in the ergative system is one of causation, and the sheer concept of causation implies the action of *x* over *y*. This means that mental ergative processes, and in fact all ergatives in the overall system of TRANSITIVITY, have a strong material flavour, the mental Inducer being closer in nature to the material Instigator than any two other participant functions are to each other. In fact, the less felt the Inducer is, the more prototypically mental the process can be said to be, as shown in Figure 3.5 where we take the process in (92) above and subject its participants to a number of grammatical transformations leading to a gradual loss of involvement of the Inducer in the process and thus to a more exclusively mental meaning.

The transition in Figure 3.5 can be explained as follows. In (i) and (ii) *su conducta* is realized as the Inducer/Agent and, therefore, as the Subject of the clause. This means that its involvement in the process is high and thus shares centrality with the Senser/Medium in as much as the Phenomenon does in transitive mental processes. The difference with the latter is that whereas the Phenomenon is an intrinsically mental participant function (almost as pervasive as the Senser in the transitive system), the Inducer, as

(i) [Inducer:] *Su conducta* [Senser:] *le* [Process:] *asustó* → (ii) [Senser:] *Le* [Process:] *asustó* [Inducer:] *su conducta* → (iii) [Sensor:] *(Él)* [Process:] *se asustó* [Quasi-Inducer:] *de su conducta* → (iv) [Sensor:] *(Él)* [Process:] *se asustó*

FIGURE 3.5   Gradual loss of involvement of the Inducer in a mental process

we have just said, is reminiscent of other process types. In any case, (i) looks even less prototypically mental than (ii) because in the former the Inducer is thematized and mental processes, as shown by the examples in this section, tend to favour realizations with thematized Senser – or Process is the Subject/Senser is left unexpressed – and Phenomenon or Inducer as New.[15] This means that mental processes are more about the expression of what the Senser feels, perceives, thinks, etc. than what those phenomena – let alone an external inducer – do to the Senser. It is no surprise, then, that the realization in (92) is (ii) rather than (i). In contrast with the effective (i) and (ii), the pseudo-effective realization in (iii) no longer construes the inducer of the sensing as a nuclear participant. This stresses the centredness of the Senser/Medium, in this way conferring a sense of focal mental meaning to the process, as prototypically mental indeed as the middle, and therefore agentless, (iv).

3.3.3 Verbal processes

Verbal processes have been treated as a minor kind of process type in *IFG*, together with behavioural and existential processes (Halliday 1985: 128; 1994: 138; Matthiessen 2004: 248). The motivation for not considering them major process types is that verbal processes are 'located . . . at the boundary between mental and relational [processes]' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 248). In our description we follow Matthiessen (1995a), who confers verbal processes the status of a major process type. As will be seen in the upcoming pages, verbal processes do have their own characteristic traits that set them apart from the other process types. For instance, and concerning one of the main proposals of our description, verbal TRANSITIVITY is the only area in the global system of Spanish TRANSITIVITY that shows no trace of ergativity. An interesting descriptive stance is adopted by Caffarel et al. (2004) and Caffarel (2006), who divides the system of PROCESS TYPE in French into three options: doing, projecting and being, each one of these consisting of two subclasses, that is, material

and behavioural, mental and verbal, and existential and relational, respectively. The various descriptions in the typological volume edited by Caffarel et al. (2004) reflect the different approaches regarding the treatment of verbal processes as a major process type, a minor process type or a process type intimately associated with mental processes.

The nuclear participants in verbal processes are the Sayer – the only necessary participant – as well as the Receiver and the Verbiage, one or both of them usually present. Unlike the Senser, the Sayer may not be a conscious participant, and may therefore not literally engage in an act of 'saying', as shown by (96). This justifies Halliday and Matthiessen's claim that 'verbal processes might more appropriately be called "symbolic" processes' (2004: 254). The Receiver is 'the one to whom the saying is directed' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 255) and is, to a greater extent than the Sayer, associated with conscious beings. It is very often realized by a pronoun, as in (97), although prepositional phrases, for example, the one in (98), are frequently Receivers, too. The Verbiage 'is the function that corresponds to what is said' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 255) when what is said is realized by a Noun Group, as in (99). When what is said is presented as either direct or indirect speech, respectively illustrated by (100) and (101), the verbalization – not called *Verbiage* now – is not taken to be a participant; it is considered to fall outside the process, forming with this a clause complex in paratactic (100) or hypotactic (101) relationship. As we can see in (101), projected indirect speech reminds of projected ideas in mental processes. This is indeed one of the areas in which mental and verbal TRANSITIVITY most resemble each other. As seen in Chapter 2, however, and as will be briefly explained below, there are some subtle distinctions between ideas and locutions.

(96) *el otro periódico*   *dice*   *que votemos cuanto antes*
the other newspaper   says   that we vote as soon as possible
Sa/Me   Process → β (reported locution)
'The other newspaper says we should vote as soon as possible'

(97) *la família*   *nos*   *pidió*   *que guardáramos silencio*
the family us   asked   that we kept silence
Sa/Me   Re/Be Process → β (reported locution)
'The family asked us to keep silent'

(98) *Se*   *rogó*   *a los invitados* *que escogiesen su vestuario*
IMP   requested to the guests   that they chose their clothes
Sa/Me Process   Re/Be →   β (reported locution)
'The guests were requested to choose their clothes'

(99) | *Pero* | *el Gobierno* | *no* | *dice* | *la verdad* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| But | the Government | NEG | tell | the truth |
| | Sa/Me | | Process | Ve/Ra |

'But the Government is not telling the truth'

(100) | *¿Qué hago con el paquete?* | | *-dijo* | *el muchacho* |
|---|---|---|---|
| What shall I do with the parcel? | –said | the lad |
| 2 (quoted locution)   ← | | Process | Sa/Me |

(101) | *Pero* | *la mujer* | *le* | *dice* | *que está sola* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| But | the woman | him | tells | that she's alone |
| | Sa/Me | Re/Be | Process → | β (reported locution) |

'But the woman tells him that she's alone'

A verbal process may also incorporate a Target, that is, 'the entity that is targeted by the process of saying' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 256). We will see that verbal processes with a Target fall within the effective category, as the Sayer becomes in those constructions an Agent that seems to be 'acting verbally on another party'. This is clearly illustrated by (102). Before we move on to explain verbal TRANSITIVITY more in detail, Figure 3.6 shows a global picture of this area of the lexicogrammar. Among other things, the system network reflects what was said at the beginning of this section: verbal processes are all of them transitive.

(102) | *Coalición Popular y Partido Comunista* | *ensalzaron* | *el gesto del alcalde* |
|---|---|---|
| Popular Coalition and Communist Party | praised | the mayor's gesture |
| Sa/Ag | Process | Ta/Me |

3.3.3.1 Verbal and transitive

As said above, verbal processes are always transitive, which renders the description of this area less complex than that of the other process types. Middle verbal processes are those without Verbiage, the Sayer being the only participant obligatorily accompanying the Process, as in (103). Eventually there may be a Receiver, as in (104), and/or a Circumstance, typically a matter one, as illustrated by (105). Middle verbal processes, notably those without a Circumstance, are halfway between verbal and material TRANSITIVITY, since, for instance, a process such as (103) could very well answer the question *what did x do*? In fact, a number of processes such as *talk, chatter, grumble* are often categorized as '[near verbal] behavioural' in the systemic literature (see, for example, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 251).
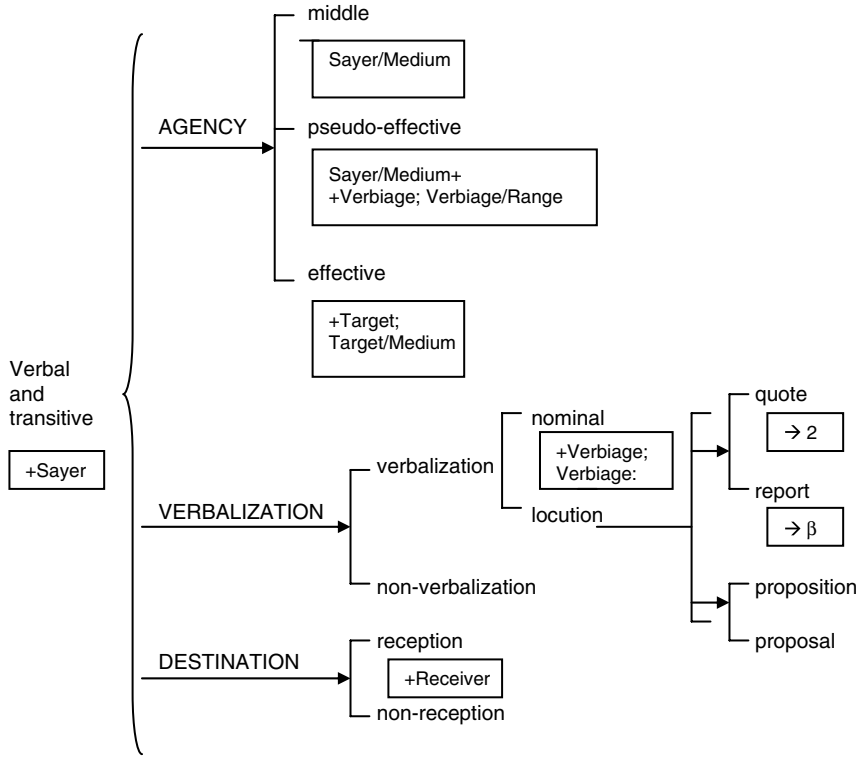
FIGURE 3.6   Most general verbal system network

Halliday and Matthiessen define behavioural processes – that is, 'processes of (typically human) physiological and psychological behaviour' – as 'the least distinct of all the six process types because they have no clearly defined characteristics of their own' (2004: 248–49). For this reason we do not deal with behavioural process as a distinct group in our description.

Process: verbal and transitive and middle

(103)   *está hablando*   *el AMO que lleva dentro*
          is talking   the MASTER that he has inside
          Process   Sa/Me
          'The master inside him is talking'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; reception

(104)   *¿Le*   *miente*   *el amigo?*
          her   lies   the friend?

Re/Be   Process   Sa/Me
'Does her friend lie to her?'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; Circumstance: matter

(105) *los indígenas*   *hablaron*   *sobre la autonomía de los pueblos*
         the natives   talked   about the peoples' autonomy
         Sa/Me   Process   Circ: matter

There is one other typical realization of middle verbal processes, namely constructions with a locution as verbalization. As Figure 3.6 shows, locutions are projected by the verbal clause and are therefore not participants thereof. We saw above examples (100) and (101) illustrating verbal processes with the two different kinds of locutions: projected quotes and projected reports, respectively. For further illustration, (106) and (107), below, provide two more examples of verbal processes with a projected locution, the former quoted, the latter reported.

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: quote

(106) *¿Qué solución se os ocurre?",*   *preguntó*   *la profesora*
         'What solution can you think of?'   asked   the teacher
         2 (quoted locution) ←   Process   Sa/Me

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report

(107) *nos*   *recomendaron*   *que no comiésemos demasiado*
         us   [they] recommended   that we didn't eat too much
         Be/Re   Process   →   β (reported locution)
         'They recommended us not to eat too much'

The grammar of reported verbalizations is the most complex area in the Spanish verbal TRANSITIVITY systems. This complexity results from the co-selections that are made from the two systems available within the sub-systems of locutions, namely the one with the choices 'quote/report' and the one with the choices 'proposition/proposal' (see Figure 3.6). Either kind of locution may co-select with what Halliday and Matthiessen call a 'proposition', that is, 'the semantic function of a clause in the exchange of information', or with 'proposal', that is, 'the semantic function of a clause in the exchange of goods-&-services' (2004: 111).[16] In verbal processes with quoted locutions the complexity is reduced in comparison with that of reported locutions. Since quotes include the quoted material as is, the only effect of the 'proposition/proposal' alternative is on the choice of the projecting verbal Process. Thus, whereas the very unspecific *decir* ('say'/'tell')

can project either a proposition – for example (100), repeated below for the sake of contrast – or a proposal – for example (108), below – *exclamar* ('exclaim') is typically associated with propositions, and *recomendar* ('suggest'/'advice') with proposals, as (109) and (110) respectively illustrate.

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: quote and proposition

(100)	*¿Qué hago con el paquete?*	*-dijo*	*el muchacho*
	What shall I do with the parcel?	–said	the lad
	2 (quoted locution) ←	Process	Sa/Me

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: quote and proposal

(108)	*Ya te estás callando*	*-dijo*	*el muchacho*	*con una lacónica inercia*
	shut up right now	said	the boy	with a laconic inertia
	2 (quoted locution) ←	Process	Sa/Me	Circ: manner

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: quote and proposition

(109)	*'¡Demasiado real!',*	*exclamó*	*el pontífice*
	'too real'	exclaimed	the pontiff
	2 (quoted locution) ←	Process	Sa/Me

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: quote and proposal

(110)	*Mi tía*	*nos*	*recomendó: –*	*No se os olvide lo que hemos dicho*
	My aunt	us	advised	don't forget what we said
	Sa/Me	Re/Be	Process →	2 (quoted locution)
	'My aunt advised us: "don't forget what we said"'			

   On the other hand, in verbal process with reported locutions the choice between propositions and proposals has an effect not only on the choice of the projecting verbal Process but also on the grammar of the projected clause. Thus reported propositions for the most part project clauses with the verb in the Indicative, as seen in the reported statement (111) and the reported questions (112) and (113), the former about requested information, the latter about given information. On occasion, mostly when it is introduced by an interrogative adverb, the projected clause is infinitival, as illustrated by (114). This is often the case when the projecting clause and

the reported statement share the same grammatical Subject, as in (115). Reported proposals, in turn, have a verb in the Subjunctive in the case of commands or suggestions (116), unless these are expressed by means of a modal verb, as in (117), in which case the verb is in the Indicative. Among reported proposals we also find infinitival clauses, as in (118), where we see that, in contrast with non-finite reported propositions, the Subject does not need to be the same as that of the projecting verbal clause.

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report and proposition: statement

(111) *admite*   *que alguien puede ser detenido*
      [he] admits   that someone may be arrested
      Process →   β (reported locution)

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report and proposition: question: information requested

(112) *Me*   *preguntaron*   *si eso era que las prefieren rubias*
      me   [they] asked   if that meant that they prefer them blond
      Re/Be   Process →   β (reported locution)
      'They asked me if that meant that they prefer them blond'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report and proposition: question: information given

(113) *Ella misma*   *les*   *explicó*   *cómo tenían que ir a su casa*
      she herself   them   explained   how they had to go home
      Sa/Me   Re/Be   Process →   β (reported locution)
      'She explained to them herself how to go home'

(114) *en la playa*   *me*   *explicó*   *cómo hacerle de otra forma más fácil*
      on the beach   me   [he] explained   how to do it in an easier way
      Circ: place   Re/Be   Process   →   β (reported locution)
      'On the beach, he explained to me how to do it in an easier way'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report and proposition: statement; convergent Subject

(115) *Gingrich*   *admitió*   *haber proporcionado informaciones incorrectas*
      Gingrich   admitted   have provided incorrect information
      Sa/Me   Process →   β (reported locution)
      'Gingrich admitted having provided incorrect information'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report and proposal: command

(116) | *Los magistrados* | *ordenaron* | *que se le separara de su mujer* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| The magistrates | ordered | that he were taken away from his wife |
| Sa/Me | Process → | β (reported locution) |

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report and proposal: modulated suggestion

(117) | *le* | *dijeron* | *que debía esperar dos días* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| him | [they] told | that he had to wait two days |
| Re/Be | Process → | β (reported locution) |

'they told him that he had to wait two days'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report and proposal: suggestion

(118) | *Los expertos* | *recomiendan* | *no responder a estos mensajes* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| the experts | advise | not to answer those messages |
| Sa/Me | Process → | β (reported locution) |

Offers, conversely, project non-finite infinitival clauses, as (119) illustrates. This is explained by the fact that the projecting clause and the reported offer always share the same the grammatical Subject, as offers are always Sayer-oriented, in contrast with orders, where the process is Receiver-oriented. When the offer is projected by a verb not specifically associated with offers, the reported clause tends to have a verb in the Indicative; in those cases, as we see in (120), it looks as if the reported clause were halfway between a proposition and a proposal.

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report and proposal: offer

(119) | *hombres bien dispuestos, casi todos criollos,* | *se ofrecieron* | *a seguirle* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| well-disposed men, almost all Creoles, | offered | to follow him |
| Sa/Me | Process → | β (reported locution) |

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; verbalization: locution: report and proposal: modulated offer

(120) | *un hombre que* | *le* | *dijo* | *que le ayudaría a conocer lo que es el miedo* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| a man who | him | told | that he would help him to know what fear is |
| Sa/Me | Re/Be | Process → | β (reported locution) |

'A man who told him that he would help him to know what fear is'

As is the case in many other languages (see, for example, Matthiessen 1995a: 291 about English), reports may be projected by a Circumstance of angle, instead of a verbal clause. In that case, the clause projected by the Circumstance belongs to the process type with which its verb is associated. Thus, for instance, the process in (121) is an attributive relational one (see below, section 3.3.4).

Process: relational: attributive and transitive and middle; Circumstance: extent: angle (instead of projecting verbal clause)

(121)	*Esto,*	*según el comité de empresa,*	*es*	*ilegal*
	This,	according to the union,	is	illegal
	Ca/Me	Circ: angle	Process	At/Ra

Moving on now to verbal processes in which the verbalization is a participant function, we enter the realm of pseudo-effective processes. In these processes, as stated above, the verbalization fulfils the role of Verbiage/Range and, similarly to the nominal Phenomenon in mental processes, is realized by a Noun Group. Once again we see that mental and verbal processes are rather similar in some aspects. However, the pseudo-effective category is more complex in mental than in verbal TRANSITIVITY since verbal pseudo-effectives are circumscribed to processes with Verbiage, which is always realized by a Noun Group, whereas, as seen in the previous section, there are different kinds of realization for the Phenomenon of a mental pseudo-effective. Examples (122–124) illustrate typical pseudo-effective verbal processes. Some of these pseudo-effective processes, as was the case with verbal middles without verbalization, are susceptible of an interpretation halfway between material and verbal. Thus, processes (122) and (124) could very well answer the material probe questions *what did Estevill never do?* and *what may a newspaper do?*, respectively.

Process: verbal and transitive and pseudo-effective; verbalization: Verbiage

(122)	*Estevill*	*jamás . . .*	*nos*	*pidió*	*dinero*
	Estevill	never	us	asked	money
	Sa/Me	Circ: frequency	Re/Be	Process	Ve/Ra
	'Estevill never asked money from us'				

(123)	*aquí*	*se*	*dice*	*la verdad y nada más que la verdad*
	here	IMP	tell	the truth and nothing but the truth
	Circ: place	Sa/Me	Process	Ve/Ra
	'here we tell the truth and nothing but the truth'			

(124) | *Un periódico* | *puede estar contando* | *mentiras* | *durante años* |
|---|---|---|---|
| a newspaper | may be telling | lies | for years |
| Sa/Me | Process | Ve/Ra | Circ: duration |

The introduction of targeted verbal processes made at the beginning of this section basically covers everything that needs to be said about effective verbal processes. The Sayer is now an agent that acts verbally on the Target. Effective verbal processes – which, as can be well imagined, are not very abundant – do not take a Verbiage since this fulfils the general role of Range and effective processes do not take Ranges, as we have seen in the description of material and mental Spanish TRANSITIVITY. The relative scarcity of effective verbal realizations makes corpora examples harder to find. Nevertheless, a close scrutiny of the corpus allows drawing examples such as the one offered on (102), above, or the one in (125), below.

(125) | *Los dos dirigentes* | *ensalzaron* | *a López Veiga* | *como "estupendo número dos* |
|---|---|---|---|
| both leaders | praised | to López Veiga | as 'fabulous number two' |
| Sa/Ag | Process | Ta/Me | Circ: role |

'Both leaders exalted López Veiga as "a fabulous number two"'

The description in the sections on mental and verbal TRANSITIVITY may convey the idea that whereas the former presents more complexity in the pseudo-effective than in the middle category the situation is reversed in the latter, that is, verbal TRANSITIVITY is more complex in the middle than in the pseudo-effective. As said above, it is the case that mental transitive pseudo-effective processes present a higher degree of complexity than their verbal counterparts due to the more numerous realizational possibilities available in the former. The relative simplicity of verbal pseudo-effective systems also implies that this category is less complex than the middle in verbal TRANSITIVITY. However, mental middle TRANSITIVITY is not as much simpler than verbal middle TRANSITIVITY as our description may have seemed to suggest. This apparent difference in complexity is due to the fact that we have not dealt with the concepts of propositions and proposals in mental TRANSITIVITY. Although there is no doubt that such distinction also affects the realization of projected ideas, we have nevertheless preferred to approach mental projection from the viewpoint not of the nature of the projection itself but of the kind of projecting mental process. This is facilitated by the fact that mental processes, as seen in 3.3.2, are further divided into four types (perceptive, cognitive, intentional and emotional) and each one of these happens to be characterized by a specific kind

of projection. Thus, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 450) show – and this is valid for Spanish, too, as seen above – that perceptive and emotive processes do not project reported ideas, whereas cognitive processes – as illustrated by (68), renumbered here as (126) – project propositions (statements and questions, the 'like' type; only statements, the 'please' type) and intentional (*desiderative* in *IFG*3) – (65) above, now (127) – project proposals.

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and middle;
metaphenomenon: idea

(126) *ella*   *creía*   *que yo estaba muerto*
      She   believed   that I was dead
      Se/Me   Process → β (reported idea)
      'She thought I was dead'

Process: mental: intentional and transitive and middle;
metaphenomenon: idea

(127) *el pueblo*   *quiere*   *que usted ceda la corona ya*
      the people   wants   that you give up your crown already
      Se/Me   Process → β (reported idea)
      'The people want you to give up your crown now'

Looking at the issue from the projecting end, that is, the verbal process type, rather than from the projected end, that is, the kind of idea – allowed us therefore to grasp the nuances of the mental projection of ideas in as much detail as the reverse approach has enabled us in this section to understand the particularities of the verbal projection of locutions. Is has to be taken into account, however, that our discussion and illustration of mental ideas was circumscribed to reports, with no mention of quoted ideas of the sort illustrated by (128), below, as quotes are as scarce among mental projections as they are frequent among verbal projections.[17]

(128) *El*   *pensó:*   *¡qué diablos, voy a intentarlo!*
      He   thought: what the heck, I'm going to try
      Sa/Me   Process → 2 (quoted idea)

Comparing mental ideas and verbal locutions is in fact crucial to fully appreciate the different idiosyncrasies of mental and verbal processes. Although both ideas and locutions have linguistic phenomena as referents, Halliday points out that 'an idea represents a semantic phenomenon, a locution represents a lexicogrammatical one', and continues to explain:

'Of the two, the semantic phenomenon is closer to the "real world", the world of non-linguistic experience. A locution . . . has been processed twice over: "first" represented semantically and "then" re-coded as a wording . . . An idea has been processed only once, as meaning' (1994: 272). As Halliday and Matthiessen state in *IFG*3, 'A wording is, as it were, twice cooked' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 451).

   Before concluding this section on verbal TRANSITIVITY, we are going to refer to a phenomenon that shows the interrelation existing among the different areas of the general system of TRANSITIVITY. We have seen that there is no trace of ergativity among verbal processes. It is the case, however, that the language on occasion uses grammatical metaphors to realize certain meanings by means of lexicogrammatical resources associated with other process types; in Spanish, for instance, ergative material processes are likely to encapsulate verbal meaning (see Matthiessen 1995a: 289 for English). This means that even if there are no ergative verbal processes proper, it is still possible to express verbal meanings ergatively. Thus, for instance, (129) and (130) illustrate two ergative material processes with verbal meaning. As we can see, the Sayerless verbal projection is realized in both examples as the Qualifier in the Noun Group realizing the Actor. Other grammatical metaphors, such as the one in (131), include realizations through relational processes, notably existential (see section 3.3). The same kind of metaphors is possible with mental meanings, as illustrated by the material ergative (132) and the existential (133), very much in the line of (129) and (130), respectively, with encapsulated mental, rather than verbal, meaning.

Process: material and ergative and middle

(129) *Hace medio siglo*   *se difundió*   *una historia similar acerca de Adolfo Hitler*
       Half a century ago spread   a similar story about Adolph Hitler
       Circ: time   Process   Ac/Me

(130) *Pronto*   *se propagó*   *el bulo de que por sus venas corría fuego*
       Soon   spread   the hoax that fire ran through his veins
       Circ: time   Process   Ac/Me

Process: relational: existential and transitive and middle

(131) *existe*   *la opinión generalizada de que hay más reservas de . . .*
       exists   the generalized opinion that there are more reserves of . . .
       Process   Ex/Me
       'There is a generalized opinion that there are more reserves of . . .'

Process: material and ergative and middle

(132) *se extendió* *la idea de que el sistema no sirve*
     spread   the idea that the system is no good
     Process   Ac/Me
     'The idea spread that the system is no good'

Process: relational: existential and transitive and middle

(133) *existe* *la creencia de que todos los hongos son venenosos*
     exists   the belief that all mushrooms are poisonous
     Process   Ex/Me
     'There is the belief that all mushrooms are poisonous'

3.3.4 Relational processes

We move on now to the last of the four major process types in our description: relational processes or processes of 'being', 'having' and 'being at', as specified by Matthiessen for English (1995a: 297). These processes are described in *IFG*3 simply as processes of 'being and having' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 210); we however prefer to keep Matthiessen's tripartite equation given that the difference between 'being' and 'being at' has a lot to do with the different Spanish realizations *ser* and *estar*, prototypical of this process type. More precisely, 'being', 'having' and 'being at' refer to the 'expanding' subtype of relational processes,[18] the other subtype being that of 'existential' relational TRANSITIVITY since, as anticipated above, we include existential processes among the relational in our description (see Figure 3.7).

Expanding relational processes – which we will generally refer to simply as 'relational' – are perhaps the most complex to describe given the criss-crossing existing subdivisions resulting in a number of parallel systems from which choices are made. As shown in Figure 3.6, the main systems are those of TYPE OF RELATION and MODE OF RELATION. The former concerns the three types of relation: '*x* is *a*' – intensive – '*x* is at *a*' – circumstantial – and '*x* has *a*' – possessive. Each one of these types comes in turn in two distinct modes: 'attributive', where '*a* is an attribute of *x*', and 'identifying', where '*a* is the identity of *x*'. Table 3.3 illustrates these divisions.

In addition to the combinatorial possibilities shown in Table 3.3, identifying processes may offer a number of different interpretations depending on semiotic considerations. It is at this point that the picture becomes rather complex, since the participant functions in identifying processes,

Table 3.3 Main types and modes of relational processes in Spanish (after Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 216; examples translated and adapted from their English examples)

	Mode	
Type	**Attributive**	**Identifying**
Intensive	*Sara es lista*	*Tomás es el líder/el líder es Tomás*
	'Sara is wise'	'Tom is the leader/the leader is Tom'
Circumstantial	*La feria es en fin de semana*	*Mañana es el 10/el 10 es mañana*
	'the fair is at the weekend'	'Tomorrow is the 10th/the 10th is . . .'
Possessive	*Pedro tiene un piano*	*El piano es suyo/suyo es el piano*
	'Peter has a piano'	'the piano is his/his is the piano'

that is, Token and Value, enter a number of different conflations with the semiotic functions of Identifier and Identified. The resulting paradigm can be as complex as the one shown in Table 3.4, which is what we could call the 'extended version', as in Halliday (1967a, b) and Davidse (1996). Table 3.5, in turn, shows the reduced version (from eight to four cells) that has been used in the three editions of *IFG*.[19] The tables below include the paradigms only for intensive processes (i.e. processes of being) and the same combinations are found for possessive and circumstantial identifying processes. For the sake of expository simplicity we are therefore not going to handle in our description the notions of 'Identified' and 'Identifier'. It will suffice to consider, as Tables 3.4 and 3.5 show, that the Identified is the element about which the Identifier (highlighted in the examples) gives some new information, and that the unmarked realization has the focus of information – that is, the Identifier – in final position. The exclusion of these two semiotic functions should, therefore, represent no impediment to the description of identifying processes. It should be noticed that those processes in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 with the Token in first position are the 'active' versions (*Tomás es el líder = Tomás interpreta* [plays] *al líder*) whereas the Value in initial position means 'passive' process (*el líder es Tomás = el líder es interpretado por* [is played by] *Tomás*). In the eight-cell paradigm, however, the distinction is not as straightforward as that. The accompanying questions try to help understand the subtle nuances involved; at the same time, they give a clear idea of why we opt for doing without the Intensifier/Identified in our description.

Now that we have established the parameters within which our description of relational TRANSITIVITY is going to take place, the next pages will

Table 3.4 Eight-cell paradigm of identifying processes in Spanish (inspired on Halliday 1967a: 69, 1967b: 227)

¿Cuál es Alec Guinnes? (Which is Alec Guinnes?) (Which role does he play?)	*Alec G.* To/Id	*es*	**Smiley** Va/Ir	**Smiley** Va/Ir	*es*	*Alec G.* To/Id
¿Quién es Smiley? (Who is Smiley?) (Who plays Smiley?)	**Alec G.** To/Ir	*es*	*Smiley* Va/Id	*Smiley* Va/Id	*es*	**Alec G.** To/Ir
¿Cuál es Alec Guinnes? (Which is Alec Guinnes?) (Which character is him?)	**Smiley** To/Ir	*es*	*Alec G.* Va/Id	*Alec G.* Va/Id	*es*	**Smiley** To/Ir
¿Quién es Smiley? (Who is Smiley?) (Who is that guy playing Smiley?)[a]	*Smiley* To/Id	*es*	**Alec G.** Va/Ir	**Alec G.** Va/Ir	*es*	*Smiley* To/Id

[a] 'Which character is him?' and 'Which actor is Smiley' can be better understood by thinking of a picture where we try to find out who Alec Guinnes is, through the former question, or who the actor is that is dressed up (or plays) Smiley, through the latter. In both cases we can identify Smiley from his clothes, but not the actor from his face, whereas in the first two paradigms, the questions 'which role does he play?' and 'who plays Smiley?' help us to identify the character through the Actor.

Table 3.5 Four-cell paradigm of identifying processes in Spanish (inspired on Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 292)

¿Cuál es Tomás? (Which is Tom?)	*Tomás* To/Id	*es*	**el líder** Va/Ir	**el líder** Va/Ir	*es*	*Tomás* To/Id
¿Quién es el líder? (Who is the leader?)	**Tomás** To/Ir	*es*	*el líder* Va/Id	*el líder* Va/Id	*es*	**Tomás** To/Ir

delve into the particularities of the relational types and modes in the light, as with the rest of process types, of their combinations with the systems of CAUSATION and AGENCY. Figure 3.7 captures the essential nature of relational processes and serves as a springboard to the upcoming description by illustrating the different relational systems. As can be seen, the systems of AGENCY and CAUSATION are not displayed as such in the general relational system network in Figure 3.7. Instead, and for the sake of visual simplicity, the system network shows the co-selections that with those two systems are available for each of the relational subtypes. The ensuing discussion explains those co-selections.
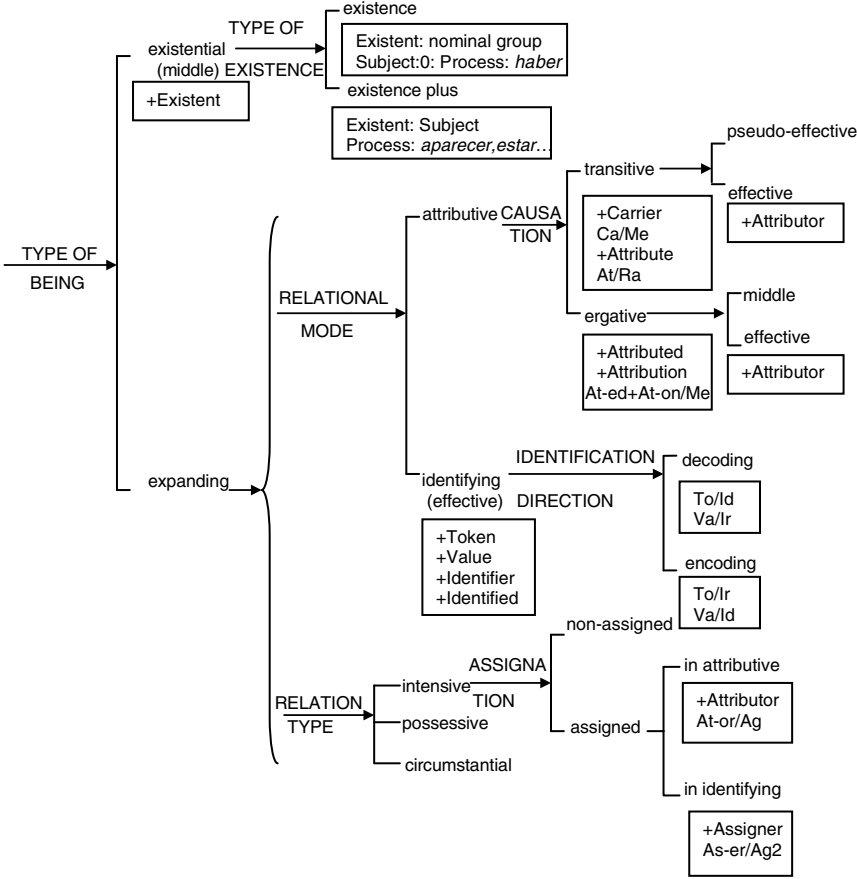
FIGURE 3.7   General system of Spanish relational TRANSITIVITY

3.3.4.1 Relational and transitive

In the transitive system we find existential, attributive and identifying processes. Middle processes of being are of the existential type. These processes 'represent that something exists or happens' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 256), as shown by examples (134) to (136). Because existential processes are middle, they have only one nuclear participant, the Existent, which typically follows *hay,* in the Present (e.g. in 134), or the third-person singular form of the verb *haber* ('have') in the rest of tenses (e.g. the Past in 135

and 136). In addition, existential processes often include a Circumstance, preferably of place or time, providing the setting for the existence, as is the case in all three realizations (134) through (136). Because the Existent is not the Subject of the existential process, the corresponding form of the verb remains singular when the Existent is plural, hence the singular verb followed by plural Existent realization in (136). In the case of 'existence plus', illustrated by (137) and (138), the Process is realized by a verb other than *haber* but replaceable by this. Existence plus often expresses not just the existence as such but also some circumstantiality about the coming into being of the Existent, hence its 'plus'. In contrast with plain existence, existence plus sees the number agreement between the Process and the Existent, as illustrated by the plural realization in (138).

Process: relational: existential and transitive and middle: existence

(134) *Cerca de Santa Teresa hay   un señor americano que compra cuadros*
      Near Santa Teresa   (there) is an American gentleman who buys paintings
      Circ: place   Process   Ex/Me
      'Near Santa Teresa there is an American gentleman who buys paintings'

(135) *el miércoles   hubo   una reunión*
      the Wednesday   (there) was   a meeting
      Circ: time   Process   Ex/Me

(136) *Durante el mes de julio   hubo   unas insólitas lluvias*
      During the month of July   (there) was   some unusual rains
      Circ: time   Process   Ex/Me
      'There were some freak showers during the month of July'

Process: relational: existential and transitive and middle: existence plus

(137) *Después de la tempestad   vino   la calma*
      After the storm   came   the calm
      Circ: time   Process   Ex/Me
      'Calm followed the storm (idiomatic expression)'

(138) *del choque   surgieron   miles de estrellitas de distintos colores*
      from the crash   arose   thousands of little stars of different colours
      Circ: reason   Process   Ex/Me
      'As a result of the crash, thousands of little multicoloured stars were formed'

Transitive pseudo-effective processes of being are all of them attributive, where an entity, the Carrier/Medium, is ascribed an Attribute, which fulfils the role of Range in the general system. This ascription can be a quality (or a class, or a state, or a quantity) – in which case the process is intensive, as (139) – a circumstance – in circumstantial processes, as (140) – or a possession – in possessive processes such as (141).

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and transitive and pseudo-effective

(139)	*El jabalí*	*es*	*un animal feroz*
	The boar	is	a wild animal
	Ca/Me	Process	At/Ra

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and possessive and transitive and pseudo-effective

(140)	*Yo*	*tengo*	*unos amigos en Caracas*
	I	have	some friends in Caracas
	Ca/Me	Process	At/Ra

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective

(141)	*la discusión*	*es*	*sobre la conciencia, la moral y la mente*
	the discussion	is	about conscience, moral and the mind
	Ca/Me	Process	At/Ra

The intensive type illustrated by (139) consists in a process in which the Carrier is presented as a member of the class specified by the Attribute. Thus, *jabalí* is presented as a member of the class *animales feroces*. Yet, as said above, there are three other possible relationships between the Carrier and its Attribute; and it is precisely in one of those kinds of relationships that some of the realizations of the Process as *estar* are found. Our description of relational TRANSITIVITY is going to allow us to pinpoint those areas of the grammar where this realization takes places and thus understand the difference with the realization *ser*. Transitive intensive attributive relation is one of those areas; as illustrated by (142), the Attribute in attributive processes with *estar* as Process express a state of the Carrier, whereas in processes with *ser* the Attribute expresses the Carrier's membership to a class (139, above), quality, (143, below) or quantity (144) (see Arús and Lavid 2001: 74 for a system network of this area).

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and transitive and pseudo-effective; Attribute as state

(142) *El médico*   *ya*   *estaba*   *agotado*   *antes de empezar*
     The doctor   already   was   exhausted   before starting
     Ca/Me   Circ: time   Process   At/Ra   Circ: time
     'The doctor was already exhausting before starting'

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and transitive and pseudo-effective; Attribute as quality

(143) *Dulce*   *no era*   *muy inteligente*
     Dulce   not was   very intelligent
     Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra
     'Dulce wasn't very intelligent'

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and transitive and pseudo-effective; Attribute as quantity

(144) *la distancia*   *es*   *40 Km o más*
     the distance   is   40 Kms or more
     Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra

Possessive relational processes are of two main kinds. In one of them, illustrated by (140) above, the relationship of possession is construed in the Process, that is, *tener* expresses the possession. The possessor, however, does not necessarily have to be the Carrier; it may be that the Carrier conflates with the possessed, as in (145), below. It is, however, the case that when the process presents the structure possessed/Carrier ^ possessor/Attribute, it tends to be realized by the other type of possessive relational process, that is, with the relationship of possession expressed not by the Process but by the Attribute, as in (146). The Process is in this case prototypically realized by *ser* (never *estar*) and the Attribute by a prepositional phrase with *de* as preposition. In this case the process does not welcome an inversion of the possessed ^ possessor sequence (i.e. *de todos es la ciudad* [everybody's is the city] is highly unmarked and improbable as a realization).

Process: relational: expanding: possessive and transitive and pseudo-effective; possession in Processes; possessed as Carrier

(145) *este reino*   *también*   *pertenece*   *a los dioses*
     this kingdom   also   belongs   to the gods
     Ca/Me   Circ: Process   At/Ra

Process: relational: expanding: possessive and transitive and pseudo-effective; possession in Attribute

(146) *la ciudad*   *es*   *de todos*
       the city   is   of everybody
       Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra
       'The city is everybody's (it's everybody's city)'

The circumstantial type, similarly to what we have just seen about the possession in possessive processes, may express the circumstantial meaning either in the Process or in the Attribute. If in the Process, this is realized by verbs other than *ser* or *estar*, as illustrated by (147); if in the Attribute, the prototypical realization of the Process is *ser* or *estar*, whereas the Attribute is realized either by a prepositional phrase, with different kinds of possible prepositions depending on the circumstantial meaning, or by an adverb. It is in this area of the Spanish lexicogrammar, then, that we can again find the realization in *estar*. In fact, this realization is found not only among *attributive* circumstantial processes but also, as will be seen in a few paragraphs, among circumstantial *identifying* processes. The distinction with *ser* is particularly fine-grained here and therefore a source of confusion even for the most versed non-native speakers of Spanish. As has just been said, the circumstantial meanings expressed by relational processes are varied; the process in (141) above, for instance, realizes a meaning of matter, whereas (148), below, expresses temporal meaning. The contrast between *ser* and *estar* takes place in the expression of spatial circumstantiality, which is expressed by *estar* if the Attribute refers to an entity, as *el otro* ('the other one') in (149), and by *ser* if the referent is an event, as *la fiesta* ('the party') in (150) (see Arús and Lavid 2001: 75 for a system network of this area). As we will see in the following paragraphs, the same semantic specifications apply to the distinction between *ser* and *estar* in identifying circumstantial processes.

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective; circumstantiality in Attribute

(147) *La publicación de la familia Real británica*   *ocupa . . .   ciento cincuenta páginas*
       The publication of the British Royal Family   occupies one hundred fifty pages
       Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective; circumstantiality in Process

(148) *la operación en sí   duró   unas cuatro horas*
      the operation itself   lasted   some four hours
      Ca/Me   Process

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective; circumstantiality in Attribute; Carrier as entity

(149) *el otro,   estaba   en un bar*
      the other   was   in a bar
      Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra
      'The other one was in a bar'

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective; circumstantiality in Attribute; Carrier as event

(150) *la fiesta   fue   en la escuela La Salle*
      the party   was   in La Salle School
      Ca/Me   Process At/Ra
      'The party was at La Salle School'

We move on now to the description of transitive effective relational processes, which are, practically all of them, identifying and, therefore, reversible (see Table 3.3). In identifying processes – which are always transitive, never ergative – one entity, that is, the Value, serves to define the identity of another entity, that is, the Token. The reversibility of these processes implies that the relative position of the two nuclear participants may be reversed. This results in the existence of a so-called active (in *IFG*1 and *IFG*2) or 'operative' (in *IFG*3) realization and a 'passive' (in *IFG*1 and *IFG*2) or 'receptive' (in *IFG*3) one. As said above, when the process unfolds from Token to Value, as is the case in (151), it is considered the 'active' realization, whereas the passive unfolds from Value to Token ([Va/Me:] *la más grande* [Process:] *es* [To/Ag:] *ésta*). In the latter, the Agent, which conflates with the Token, falls towards the end of the clause the same as Agents realized by *por*-prepositional phrases in prototypical passives such as the material (152). On occasion the reversibility of an identifying process is so patent that it is not easy to establish whether it unfolds from Token to Value or from Value to Token, as is the case in (153).

Process: relational: expanding: identifying and intensive and transitive and effective; operative

(151) *ésta*   *es*   *la más grande*
       this   is   the biggest
       To/Ag   Process   Va/Ag

Process: material and transitive and effective and passive

(152) *tres guardias*   *fueron golpeados*   *por unos 50 amotinados*
       three guards   were beaten   by some 50 mutineers
       Go/Me   Process   Ac/Ag

Process: relational: expanding: identifying and intensive and transitive and effective; operative? receptive?

(153) *A veces*   *lo más fácil*   *es*   *lo más . . . difícil*
       Sometimes   the easiest   is   the most difficult
       Circ: time   To/Ag[Va/Me?]   Process   Va/Me [To/Ag?]

The processes in (151) and (153) are both of them intensive, which is the type of relation where the distinction between attributive and identifying processes can be best appreciated. There are, however, possessive and circumstantial processes in the identifying mode, too, and although they are often not so easily discernable from possessive and circumstantial attributive processes, it is always possible to find examples where the reversibility criterion is clearly applicable. Thus, (154) can be said to illustrate the receptive realization of a possessive identifying process susceptible of the following operational re-expression: *otras playas no tienen este ambiente que tiene Menorca* ('other beaches don't have this ambiance Menorca has'). Conversely, a process such as the one in (146) above, renumbered as (155) below, may be interpreted as attributive, as we did above, if the city is taken to be a member of the class of everybody's possessions (155a), or as identifying if the city is identified as belonging to everybody (155b; see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 245 for the same interpretation regarding *the piano is Peter's*). If identifying, then (155) would admit the reversed form *de todos es la ciudad* ('everybody's is the city'), which, although highly marked, could be the answer to a question such as *¿qué es de todos?* ('what is everybody's?', that is, 'what belongs to everybody?'), with *la ciudad* ('the city') as unmarked new information and, therefore, in final position. Circumstantial processes are bound to show the same fuzziness regarding their belonging to the

attributive or the identifying mode, although some of them (e.g. the receptive 156 and the operative 157) seem to fall more clearly towards the identifying end of the continuum, that is, they are more likely to have a reversed form.

Process: relational: expanding: identifying and possessive and transitive and effective; receptive

(154)	*Este ambiente que tiene Menorca*		*no*	*lo*		*tienen*	*otras playas*
	This ambiance that Menorca has		not	it		have	other beaches
	Va/(Me)		Pro-	(Va)/Me	-cess		To/Ag

'This ambiance Menorca has is not found on other beaches'

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and possessive and transitive and pseudo-effective

(155a)	*la ciudad*	*es*	*de todos*
	the city	is	of everybody
	Ca/Me	Process	At/Ra

'The city is everybody's (it's everybody's city)'

Process: relational: expanding: identifying and possessive and transitive and effective; operative

(155b)	*la ciudad*	*es*	*de todos*
	To/Ag	Process	Va/Me

Process: relational: expanding: identifying and circumstantial and transitive and effective; receptive

(156)	*aquí*	*están*	*los restos de los peruanos*
	here	are	the remains of the Peruvians
	Va/Me	Process	To/Ag

Process: relational: expanding: identifying and circumstantial and transitive and effective; operative

(157)	*Donde lo vi*	*fue*	*aquí en la Asamblea*
	Where I saw it	was	here at the assembly
	To/Ag	Process	Va/Ag

The fuzziness in the distinction between the two relational modes in possessive and circumstantial relational processes is more patent in Spanish than in other languages with more constraints in word order, such as English. As we will see in Chapter 4, Spanish is rather flexible regarding the ordering of interpersonal constituents. This means that, unlike, for example, English, the Subject is often not the first constituent in the process, which makes the reversibility criterion harder to apply: because of the relatively free order of Subject, Complements, etc. Spanish processes are a lot more prone to reversibility than English processes. Thus, whereas it can be safely established that in English 'the operative voice is the one in which the Subject is also the Token' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 231) – which implies that there is a reversed form with the Subject as Value, and the process is, therefore, identifying – one cannot make the same assumption in Spanish. For a number of reasons that, again, will be seen in Chapter 4, the Spanish Subject may be expressed post-verbally, and its conflation with an experiential constituent does not have to change. If that is the case, we are no longer in front of an identifying but an attributive processes (there is change of conflation from Subject/Token to Subject/Value in this mode). Even such an unarguably attributive process as (139) *el jabalí es un animal feroz* ('the boar is a wild animal'), seen above, could be turned around as a response to, for instance, *dame un ejemplo de un animal feroz* ('give me an example of a wild animal'): *un animal feroz es . . . por ejemplo, un jabalí.*

It should strike as no surprise that the reversibility criterion turns out to be hard to apply on occasion. In fact, some authors, notably Fawcett (1987) have queried both the felicitousness of that criterion and the need for the attributive/identifying distinction. In his study of English relational TRANSITIVITY, Fawcett claims: 'the reversibility criterion is, I suggest, no more than an accidental by-product of the equativeness of the nominal groups that fill the two roles . . . coupled with the main verb expressing an equative meaning such as *be, become, equal,* and perhaps *resemble*' (1987: 139). There is no doubt that the nature of the participants is a key factor to reversibility: when the second relational constituent is determinate, it may very well be placed in initial position in the process (thus *la más grande, lo más difícil, los restos de los peruanos,* etc. in identifying processes above); conversely, indeterminate participants (such as *un animal feroz, unos amigos, agotado, muy inteligente . . .* seen in attributive processes) do not so easily fit into preverbal position unless the second nuclear constituent is of indeterminate or general nature, too. Fawcett suggests interpreting the potential reversibility of relational processes in terms of variation within the systems of THEME

and INFORMATION FOCUS, and it is a fact that those textual systems are the ones that account for the relative ordering of constituents in the clause. Those systems, however, are the subject of discussion of Chapter 4 in our description and we will not delve into the issue here. We stick to the distinction between attributive and identifying processes because it seems clear to us that prototypical attributive and prototypical identifying processes do show a clear contrast between the non-reversibility of the former and the reversibility of the latter. In addition, and within the general line followed in this description, both relational modes differ regarding the transitive/ergative split: whereas we are seeing both attributive and identifying processes in the transitive system, we will only find attributive processes in the ergative one.

To complete our description of effective transitive relational processes, we must refer to those constructions in which, effective as they are, the reversibility criterion is irrelevant: assigned relational processes (see the system in Figure 3.7). These processes may be identifying, such as (158), and thus include an Assigner, or they may be attributive, for example (159), with an Attributor. The existence of attributive effective processes is the reason why we stated at the beginning of our description of effective relationals that *practically* all of them are identifying. These assigned attributives are precisely the only non-identifying effective processes within the transitive system in relational TRANSITIVITY. We see that, as stated above, the reversibility criterion is irrelevant here because all assigned processes, whether attributive or identifying, may ultimately be reversed precisely on account of their effective nature. Therefore, (158) could be realized as *descubrir eso me hizo muy feliz* and (159) may have the reversed form *él fue nombrado gobernador de dicho departamento*. What allows us to establish whether an assigned process is attributive or identifying is the consideration of the non-assigned relational process resulting from the assigned one. Thus, the process in (158) results in *fui muy feliz* ('I was very happy'), non-reversible and therefore attributive, and the process in (159) originates the relation *él era el gobernador del departamento*, reversible as *el gobernador del departamento era él*, and thus identifying.

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and transitive and effective; assigned

(158)

	A mí me	*hizo*	*muy feliz*	*descubrir eso*
	To me me	made	very happy	discover that
	Ca/Me	Process	At/Ra	At-or/Ag

'It made me very happy to discover that'

Process: relational: expanding: identifying and intensive and transitive and effective; assigned

(159)	*los rebeldes*	*lo*	*nombraron*	*gobernador de dicho departamento*
	the rebels	him	appointed	governor of that department
	As-er/Ag2	To/Ag	Process	Va/Me

‘The rebels appointed him governor of that department’

3.3.4.2 Relational and ergative

The ergative system in the area of relational TRANSITIVITY is less complex than its transitive counterpart. To start with, relational ergativity consists exclusively of attributive processes, all of them intensive. In addition, the number of verbs realizing ergative relational Processes is rather limited. As we are going to see, ergative relational processes are much less prototypically relational than transitive relationals, something that we already saw when dealing with mental ergatives. Among relationals, however, the material flavour is more blatant than among mental ergative processes, no doubt because the inclusion of the feature of CAUSATIVITY stands out against the low semantic profile of the prototypical relational realizations in *ser* and *estar*, both of them transitive.

Middle ergative relational processes express an event or action – hence their material slant – whose result typically is a pseudo-effective transitive attributive process of state (e.g. *el partido estaba duro* or *Juan estaba tonto* in 160 an 161, respectively, below). The most nuclear participant is here called ‘Attributed’ because this is the participant receiving or experimenting the ‘Attribution’. The ergative relational process may resemble not only a material process, as is the case in (160), which has a material agnate *el partido se endureció* (‘the match toughened’), but also a mental one, as in (161), which may – even if less prototypically – be realized mentally as *Juan se entonteció* (‘Juan became silly’). It is even possible to find traces of verbal meaning among ergative attributive processes, as is the case with processes with the verb *llamar*(*se*), illustrated by (162). This is practically the only ‘verbal-looking’ realization but the processes in which it partakes are arguably the most prototypically relational in the ergative system both for their frequent appearance in discourse and, more importantly, because they are agnates of *ser*-attributive processes rather than merely the cause of one – of state, that is, with *estar*, not with *ser*, as Process – as is the case with the rest of ergative relationals. Therefore, the Process in (162) is an agnate of *el nombre de este pueblecito es Kun-Kun.* In fact, these processes are clearly the closest to transitive relational ones, to such an extent that the Attribution very closely

resembles a transitive Attribute/Range, which it would be were not for the fact that the same verb *llamar*(*se*), unlike verbs realizing transitive processes, can be the Process in an effective construction. It is no wonder then that, as we have just said, ergative processes with *llamarse* are the most prototypically relational ones (see, however, what we say about the effective *llamar*, two paragraphs below). We are once again reminded of the continuum that language is and how the most marginal members of each category hold hands, so to speak, with those of neighbouring areas – of the lexicogrammar, in this case.

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and ergative and middle

(160)   *El partido*   *se puso*   *duro*
        The match   became   tough
        At-ed/Me   Process   At-on

(161)   *Juan*   *se volvió*   *tonto*
        Juan   became   silly
        At-ed/Me   Process   At-on

(162)   *Este pueblecito*   *se llama*   *Klun-Klun*
        At-ed/Me   Process   At-on

   Something that stands out in our analysis of (160–162) is that the Attribution has no conflation with a general function. This means that the Attribution is not a participant in its own right; it rather complements the meaning of the Process (*ponerse duro = endurecerse; volverse tonto = entontecerse*). To better understand the non-full-fledged-participant nature of the Attribution, it is quite helpful to compare it with the Attribute from transitive attributive processes. If we take the three attributive processes (139) *El jabalí es un animal feroz*, (140) *Yo tengo unos amigos en Caracas* and (141) *la discusión es sobre la conciencia, la moral y la mente*, which were used at the beginning of this section to illustrate intensive, possessive and circumstantial attributive constructions, respectively, the Attribute in all of them may be subjected to pronominalization in the contexts shown in (163–165) below. This means that the Attribute – even when it is simply realized by an adjective, as is often the case in the intensive type – is as much of a participant as any other constituent. The pairs in (166–168), randomly taken from our previous description of the different process types, show various constituents replaceable by the oblique pronominal form *lo* in the same way as the Attribute here discussed.[20] The pronominalization of the Attribute is also possible

when this participant appears in non-relational clauses, such as the corpus example (169a), which is material and could have a follow-up as the one we propose in (169b).[21]

(163) *¿Es el jabalí un animal feroz?*   *Sí,*   *lo*   *es*
       Is the boar a wild animal?   Yes   it (ACCUS.)   is
                                                       At/Ra   Process

(164) *¿Tienes amigos en Caracas?*   *Sí,*   *los*   *tengo*
       Do you have friends in Caracas   them   have
                                                       At/Ra   Process

(165) *¿Es la discusión sobre la conciencia . . .?*   *Sí,*   *lo*   *es*
       Is the discussion on conscience . . .?   Yes,   it (ACCUS.) is
                                                       At/Ra   Process

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective

(166a) *su socio Ed Viesturs y él escalaron la montaña*

(166b) *su socio Ed Viesturs y él **la** escalaron*

Process: mental and transitive and pseudo-effective

(167a) *¿tú entiendes ese término jubilación?*

(167b) *¿tú **lo** entiendes?*

Process: verbal and transitive and pseudo-effective

(168a) *nos recomendaron que no comiésemos demasiado*

(168b) *nos **lo** recomendaron*

Process: material and transitive and middle; Attributed

(169a) *El partido socialista   salía*   *exhausto*   *de los años de Mitterrand*
        The Socialist Party came out exhausted from the Mitterrand years
        Ac/Me   Process   At/Ra   Circ: place

(169b) *Y   el UMP   lo*   *saldrá*   *de los años de Sarkozy*
        And the UMP it (ACCUS.) will came out from the Sarkozy years
                     Ac/Me   At/Ra   Process   Circ: place

Unlike in material and mental TRANSITIVITY, there are no pseudo-effective ergative processes in the area of relational TRANSITIVITY. This means that there is no participant function playing a role different from

what it resembles – as is the case with the material Pseudo-Instigator or the mental Quasi-Inducer – and is something to be expected given that the number of verbs realizing ergative relational processes is rather limited, with *poner*(*se*) and *volver*(*se*) being two pervasive realizations, as shown by the examples illustrating this category. We move on now, then, to the description of effective ergative relational processes, which are typically realized by clauses with *poner* or *volver* as Process – the realization with reflexive marking corresponding, as we have seen, to middle structures. The Agent in these effective ergative structures is the Attributor responsible for the Attribution received or experimented by the Attributed. It will be remembered that the Attributor made a first, brief appearance in our description of assigned attributive transitive relational processes, but it is now that this participant function comes into its own since effective attributive processes are more frequently realized ergatively than transitively. Examples (170–172) illustrate effective ergative processes; as we can see, the status of the Attribution in terms of participanthood is the same as in middle processes, that is, it has no correspondence with a general function because it is basically adjacent to the Process, with the provisos already made for processes with *llamar*(*se*). So here, similarly to what we saw above for the middle category, *poner enfermo* is equivalent to *enfermar* and *volver loco* to *enloquecer*, whereas *lo llaman león* is an approximate agnate of *su nombre es león* ('its name is lion'). We say 'approximate' because the true agnation is really found only in the middle version of these processes; the inclusion of the feature of causation in the effective category makes processes with *llamar* less prototypically relational than those with the middle *llamarse.*

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and ergative and effective

(170) *Que se pueda hacer algo así a unos seres humanos   me   pone   enfermo*
That one can do things like that to human beings me puts sick
At-or/Ag   At-ed/Me Process   At-on
'That something like that may be done to human beings makes me sick'

(171) *Usted   me   vuelve   loco*
You   me   turn   crazy
At-or/Ag   At-ed/Me   Process   At-on
'You drive me crazy'

(172) *comúnmente*   *la gente*   *lo*   *llama*   *león*
      Commonly   the people   it (ACCUS.)   call   lion
      Circ: frequency At-or/Ag   At-ed/Me   Process   At-on
      'People usually call it a lion'

Before our description of relational TRANSITIVITY, and thus nuclear
TRANSITIVITY, comes to an end, it should be pointed out that although
none of the processes shown in this section include a Beneficiary, relational
processes – notably attributive ones – may include this participant function.
Examples (173–177) illustrate the range of attributive relational processes
that are likely to include a Beneficiary, namely pseudo-effective transitive –
either intensive (173, 174) or circumstantial (175) – and middle (176) and
effective (177) ergative. Identifying processes are less prone to taking
a Beneficiary, and when they do, the realization through prepositional
phrase, typically with *para*, is favoured over the pronominal one, as illus-
trated by the intensive (178), although the pronominal realization may be
used on certain occasion, as in the circumstantial (179).[22] Also existential
processes, in particular those of the kind 'existence plus', may take a Bene-
ficiary, as is the case in (180).

**Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and
transitive and pseudo-effective; +Beneficiary**
(173) *la aceptación*   *me*   *es*   *útil*
      the acceptance   me   is   useful
      Ca/Me   Be/Be   Process   At/Ra
      'The acceptance is useful to me'

(174) *le*   *estaba*   *grande*
      him   was   big
      Be/Be   Process   At/Ra
      '(it) was too big for him'

**Process: relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and
transitive and pseudo-effective; +Beneficiary**
(175) *la renovación*   *nos*   *costó*   *más de 2.000 millones*
      the renovation   us   cost   more than 2,000 millions
      Ca/Me   Be/Be   Process   At/Ra
      'The renovation cost us over 2,000 millions'

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and ergative and middle; +Beneficiary

(176)	*se*	*me*	*puso*	*la cara*	*hinchada*
	be-	me	-came	the face	swollen
	Pro-	Be/Be	-cess	At-ed	At-on
	'My face became swollen'				

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and ergative and effective; +Beneficiary

(177)	*Los tradicionalistas*	*se*	*lo*	*pusieron*	*fácil*
	the traditionalists	him	it	put	easy
	At-or/Ag		Be/Be	At-ed/Me	Process At-on
	'The traditionalists made it easy for him'				

Process: relational: expanding: identifying and intensive and transitive and effective; +Beneficiary: prepositional phrase

(178)	*Quizás*	*eso*	*ha sido*	*lo más difícil*	*para mí*
	Perhaps	that	has been	the hardest	for me
	(interp.)	To/Ag	Process	Va/Me	Be/Be

Process: relational: expanding: identifying and circumstantial and transitive and effective; +Beneficiary

(179)	*No*	*me*	*sirve*	*para nada*	*saberme el texto al dedillo*
	Pro-	Be/Be	-cess	Circ: purpose	Ca/Me
	'It's of no use to me to know the text by heart'				

Process: relational: existential and transitive and middle: existence plus; +Beneficiary

(180)	*me*	*surgieron*	*varias oportunidades*
	me	sprung up	several opportunities
	Be/Be	Process	Ex/Me
	'Several opportunities offered themselves to me'		

The process in (179) may strike as too marginal to be considered relational. However, *servir de* expresses a relation of the kind *x es útil a y* ('x is useful to y') and is but one more example of the wide range of verbs that express what we could call a 'relation-plus', that is, a relational meaning with some added kind of meaning ranging from the material to the mental to the verbal.

The examples handled in these pages have allowed us to see this extended meaning of many relational processes, and now, to conclude this section, Table 3.6 shows the wide variety of realizations that may partake in a relational process, whether with a pure relational meaning (i.e. *ser, estar, tener*) or with an additional semantic load (see Matthiessen 1995a: 322 for a similar classification of English relational processes).

Thus have we reached the end of our description of Spanish process types, the most complex area of the lexicogrammar due to the multiplicity of functions arising from the criss-crossing of the systems of AGENCY, CAUSATION and, above all, PROCESS TYPES. Not all aspects of Spanish NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY have been dealt with here since this is a book of eminently holistic nature. The description of the experiential grammar of Spanish offered in the preceding pages, as well as in the following section 3.5, should help, however, to obtain a global understanding of the workings of this area of the lexicogrammar that will allow those interested in the topic to delve into specific subareas and thus contribute to complete the patchwork. At the same time, this foray into Spanish process types and their participants provides the necessary tools to be able to deal, in the next chapter, with textual meaning given that, as Matthiessen states, 'Textual categories . . . have to be interpreted outside the textual metafunction itself by means of the ideational metafunction' (1992: 38). A basic understanding of this chapter is, therefore, important to understand the following one, mostly as regards contrastive issues. Because we are aware that it is not easy to retain all the participant functions and the role they play in each process type, we summarize in Table 3.7, all the information concerning the correspondences between participants and process types, so that the reader may go back to it whenever the description in section 3.5 or in the next chapter on textual systems becomes terminologically demanding. Before entering the contrastive realm, though, we need to describe the remaining system of Spanish TRANSITIVITY, that is, CIRCUMSTANTIAL TRANSITIVITY.

3.4 Meaning from the outer ring: Profile of Spanish CIRCUMSTANTIAL TRANSITIVITY

In section 3.2 we referred to Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004: 295) representation of transitivity as consisting of a Process and Medium nucleus surrounded by two rings: an inner ring with those participants which are less nuclear than the Medium but more nuclear than circumstances, that is, Agent, Range and Beneficiary, and an outer ring with circumstances.

Table 3.6 Lexical realizations of relational Processes in Spanish

Intensive	Middle	Attributive	Identifying
	Non-phase: neutral	*ser*	*ser*
	Non-phase: other	[class] *hacer, constituir, formar, resultar* [state] *estar* [quantity attribute:] *pesar, costar, sumar, montar, superar, rebasar* [Process/Attribute:] (=quality) *importar, bastar, diferir (+de, en)*	*simbolizar, representar, constituir, personificar* *ejemplificar, ilustrar, resumir, equivaler, representar, servir (+de), hacer (+de), funcionar*
	Phase: reality	*parecer, mostrarse, revelarse (+como), sonar, saber*	
	Phase: time		*convertirse*
		seguir, continuar, permanecer	*seguir, continuar (+siendo)*
	Middle/ effective		
	Assigned: expansive	[amplifying:] *hacer, volver, poner, convertir (+en)* *nombrar, elegir, votar* *llamar, tildar, apelar* [+incorporated modal Attribute] *asegurar, garantizar* (ergative)* *convertir(se) (+en), hacer(se), volver(se), poner(se), proclamar(se)* [elaborating:] *llamar(se)*	*convertir*
	Assigned: projecting	[verbal:] *declarar, proclamar* [mental: cognitive] *creer, imaginar, suponer*	[mental: cognitive] *creer, imaginar, suponer*

(*Continued*)

Table 3.6 Cont'd

Intensive	Middle	Attributive		Identifying
Possessive	**Non-benefactive**	*tener, carecer (+de), necesitar, merecer, pertenecer presumir (+de)* *contener, albergar, incluir, excluir, implicar, conllevar, consistir (+en), constar (+de)*		
	Benefactive			*suministrar, abastecer (+de), privar (+de)* *adeudar, deber*
Circum-stantial		*estar (+con)*		[additive:] *acompañar, complementar, combinar, unir, juntar* [adversative:] *contrastar (+con), distinguirse*
		estar (+por)		[alternative:] *alternar, reemplazar, sustituir, suplantar* [concessive:] *contradecir, contravenir, oponerse* [conditioning:] *condicionar*
	Spatial	[event:] *ser, tener lugar, celebrae*[a]		*cruzar, rodear, cubrir, coronar, ocupar, abarcar, seguir, preceder, acompañar*
		[entity:] *estar, hallarse, encontrarse, extenderse*		
	Temporal	*ser, tener lugar, durar, datar (+de)*		*ocupar, abarcar, seguir, preceder, coincidir, co-ocurrir*
	Comparative	*ser, parecer(se), salir (+a)*		*superar, mejorar, igualar, combinar*
	Matter	*ser, tratar (+de, sobre) concernir*		*cubrir, tocar, tratar, discutir, repasar, resumir*
	Quantity	*ser, costar, pesar*		
Existential		[transitive:] *existir* [condition:] *depender (+de)*	[ergative, in fact **material**:] *causar, producir, originar*	

[a] This *se* is not a reflexive clitic. *Celebrar* is relational only when used in impersonal or *se*-passive constructions. Thus, the lexeme [*celebrar(se)*] is realized in the lexical unit *celebrar* ('celebrate'), which is material, and in *celebrarse*, which is relational.

Table 3.7 Correspondences between participants and process types

System (Causation)	Process type	Function in general system					Category (Agency)	Examples
		Medium	**Range**	**Agent**	**Beneficiary**	*		
Transitive	Material	Actor	Scope				Middle	*Pedro está corriendo*
							Pseudo-ef.	**Subamos la** *montaña*
		Goal		Actor	Recipient		Effective	*No lo toques*
								Le di el libro
					Client			*Lo hice para ti*
Ergative		Affected					Middle	*Se ha roto el vaso*
					Recipient	1		*Se me ha roto el vaso*
							Pseudo-ef.	*Me he roto un brazo*
				Instigator			Effective	*Has roto el vaso*
					Recipient			*No me rompas el vaso*
Transitive	Mental	Senser					Middle	*No veo*
			Phenomenon				Pseudo-ef.	*¿Oyes la música?*
				Phenomenon			Effective	*Me encantó tu regalo*
Ergative							Middle	*No te asustes*
						2	Pseudo-ef.	*Me asusté de los perros*
				Inducer			Effective	*Me ha asustado el perro*

Table 3.7 Cont'd

System (Causation)	Process type	Function in general system					Category (Agency)	Examples
		Medium	Range	Agent	Beneficiary	*		
Transitive	Verbal	Sayer			Receiver		Middle	*Dice que vayas*
								Me ha dicho que vayas
					Receiver		Pseudo-ef.	*No voy a responder nada*
			Verbiage					*Dime algo*
		Target		Sayer			Effective	*Lo alabaron*
					Receiver			*Les alabó su actitud*
Ergative								————
Transitive	Relational	Existent (Existential)					Middle	*Hay muy poca gente*
		Carrier	Attribute				Pseudo-ef.	*Estoy bastante cansado*
					Beneficiary			*Me ha costado poco dinero*
	(Attributive)			Attributor			Effective	*La noticia me hizo muy feliz*
Ergative		Attributed				3	Middle	*La hierba se puso amarilla*
				Attributor			Effective	*El sol puso la hierba amarilla*
Transitive	(Identifying)	Value		Token			Effective	*Ella es la mejor*
				Assigner (Agent2)				*La nombraron presidenta*

* Non-nuclear participants (other than Circumstances): 1=Pseudo-Instigator; 2=Quasi-Inducer; 3=Attribution

Although several of the many corpus-based examples used so far included circumstances, the concern of our description of NUCLEAR TRANSITIV-ITY has been the nucleus and the inner ring. In this section we take one more step away from the nucleus to deal with the system of CIRCUMSTAN-TIAL TRANSITIVITY.

Circumstances, the same as Beneficiaries, cannot be the Subject of a clause in Spanish. This makes Spanish circumstances more radically differ-ent from participants than in other languages such as English, where cir-cumstances can be Subjects (see section 3.5 below).

Circumstantial meanings are primarily realized in Spanish by Adverbial Groups, for example (181), and prepositional phrases, for example (182), occasionally by Adjectival Groups, for example (183). When realized by prepositional phrases, those with the preposition *a* tend to show the highest attachment to the process, that is, the lowest circumstantiality. As said above, *a* is the preposition that typically precedes specific animate Mediums, Ranges or Beneficiaries as Complements. This seems to underlie the higher nuclearity of *a*-prepositional phrases. The contrast of examples (184) and (185) illustrates the low circumstantial semantic value of *a* with respect to, on this occasion, *hacia*. This does not mean, though, that all *a*-prepositional phrases instantiate nuclear participants; examples (186) and (187) illus-trate circumstantial meanings expressed by means of this kind of preposi-tional phrase.

Process: material and middle and transitive; Circumstance: prepositional phrase

(181)	*Yo*	*he venido*	*con mi hermano*
	I	have come	with my brother
	Ac/Me	Process	Circ: accompaniment: comitative

Process: material and middle and transitive; Circumstance: Adverbial Group

(182)	*todo*	*fue pasando*	*muy lentamente*
	All	went passing	very slowly
	Ac/Me	Process	Circ: manner: quality

Process: material and effective (inherently Goal-directed) and transitive; Circumstance: Adjectival Group

(183)	*se*	*rodará*	*muy rápido*
	IMP	shoot	very fast
	Ac/Ag	Process	Circ: manner: quality
	'They'll shoot very fast (speaking of movie-making)'		

Process: material and effective (inherently Goal-directed) and transitive; benefactive; Beneficiary: prepositional phrase

(184) *Cuatro enmascarados   dispararon   a las víctimas*
       Four masked   shot   to the victims
       Ac/Ag   Process   Re/Be
       'Four masked people shot the victims'

Process: material and effective (inherently Goal-directed) and transitive; Circumstance: prepositional phrase

(185)   *dispararon   hacia otros lugares*
       (they)   shot   towards other places
       Ac/Ag   Process   Circ: location: place
       'They shot at other places (in other directions)'

Process: mental and pseudo-effective and transitive: Circumstance: *a*-prepositional phrase

(186) *¿nos   vemos   a las diez?*
       Us   see   at ten?
       Ph/Ra   Process Circ: location: time
       'Shall we see each other (i.e. meet) at ten o'clock?'

Process: mental and middle and transitive: Circumstance: *a*-prepositional phrase

(187) *muchos   se fueron   a Vigo o a A Coruña*
       many   left   to Vigo o to A Coruña
       Ac/Me   Process   Circ: location: place

Examples (181–187) show that circumstantial meanings are often not as optional as one may be inclined to belief. In fact, practically none of the seven circumstances instantiated above can be removed without seriously threatening communication. This is one more example of the graded nature of language, which is also reflected in the system of CIRCUMSTAN-TIAL TRANSITIVITY; some circumstances add a more marginal meaning and are, therefore, more easily disposable, whereas other circumstances are so inherent to the process that could be considered as nuclear as any participant, notably those which, as Downing and Locke say, are 'obligatory with certain senses of "be"' (2006: 124). These authors give the examples reproduced below as (188) and (189). The circumstantial elements in both (188) and (189) are so inherent to the process that they are in fact participants rather than circumstances: They are the Attribute/Range in the attributive circumstantial relational processes seen in section 3.3.4.1, of

which (190) and (191) are examples. The hybrid circumstance/participant state of these Attributes is reflected in the label they receive in *IFG3*, that is, 'Attribute: circumstantial prepositional phrase' (see, for example, 2004: 241).

(188) *the ice-cream's **over there***

(189) *let's put it **in the freezer***

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective; circumstantiality in Attribute

(190) | *la fiesta* | *fue* | *en la escuela La Salle* |
       |-------------|-------|---------------------------|
       | the party | was | in La Salle School |
       | Ca/Me | Process | At/Ra |

'The party was at La Salle School'

(191) | *la discusión* | *es* | *sobre la conciencia, la moral y la mente* |
       |----------------|------|---|
       | the discussion | is | about conscience, moral and mind |
       | Ca/Me | Process | At/Ra |

It will be observed that, unlike in the examples handled in the description of nuclear transitivity, we are now analysing circumstances with a more general label followed by a more specific one. In the circumstances that appeared in the section on nuclear transitivity, we gave them the most self-explanatory label, whether it was the most specific or the most general. Now that we are dealing with circumstantial transitivity, we will be more specific regarding the precise circumstance type, using both the general and the specific name of each circumstance type. Since circumstantial meanings (not their realizations) coincide in English and Spanish, we draw our classification upon the one in *IFG3* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 262–263). This classification, as will be seen, groups circumstances following logico-semantic criteria, in terms of the kind of relationship existing between circumstances and the process + participants configuration. The four most general categories in the classification of circumstantial elements are thus *projecting circumstances*, *enhancing circumstances*, *extending circumstances* and *elaborating circumstances*.

3.4.1 Projecting circumstances

Projecting circumstances contrast with the other three large circumstance types in that, whereas the latter expand the nucleus of the process (i.e. they stand in a relationship of expansion), the former act as a sort of disguised

projector of the clausal nucleus. Because projection is intimately associated with mental and verbal transitivity, it should strike as no surprise, then, that, as we are going to see, projecting circumstances have a lot of mental and/ or verbal in them.

There are two projecting circumstances: Angle and Matter. Angle circumstances – which, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 276) point out, are related to either the Senser of a mental clause or the Sayer of a verbal clause – may combine with practically any process type since the circumstance corresponds to the projecting part of the clause, as we can see in (192) and (193), whereas the combinatorial possibilities of Matter – 'the circumstantial equivalent of the Verbiage' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 276) – are more restricted because this belongs to the projected part. Matter tends, therefore, to combine with verbal, as (194), and mental processes, as (195). As many other circumstance types, notably spatial and temporal Location, Matter can partake in a relational process, in which case it is the circumstantial Attribute, as we saw in the example reproduced here as (196). Table 3.8 illustrates the commonest realizations of projecting circumstances.

Process: material and transitive and middle

(192) *según la mayoría,*   *tenía que caer*   *en algún momento*
     According to the majority   (he) had to fall   at some time
     Circ: angle   Process   Circ: location: time
     'According to most people, he had to fall sooner or later'

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective

(193) *Estamos,*   *en mi opinión,*   *en el límite de lo asumible*
     (we) are   in my opinion   on the verge of the assumable
     Process   Circ: angle   At/Ra

Process: verbal and transitive and middle

(194) *les*   *hablamos*   *de los asuntos de nuestra comunidad*
     them   (we) spoke   of the issues of our community
     Re/Be   Process   Circ: matter
     'We told them about the issues of our community'

Table 3.8   Projecting circumstances in Spanish and their prototypical realizations

Matter	*Sobre, de, en, a cerca de, por lo que respecta a, con respecto a, respecto a / de, en referencia a*
Angle	*Según, en mi (tu, su . . .) opinión, de acuerdo con*

Process: mental and transitive and middle

(195)   *¿en qué*   *piensa*   *el mundo de hoy?*
       in what   thinks   the world of today's?
       Circ: matter   Process   Se/Me
       'What is today's world thinking about?'

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective

(196) *la discusión*   *es*   *sobre la conciencia, la moral y la mente*
       the discussion   is   about conscience, moral and the mind
       Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra

3.4.2 Enhancing circumstances

Enhancing circumstances form the largest circumstantial group and comprise those of Location, Extent, Manner, Cause and Contingency. The first two, that is, Location and Extent, are very much related since both of them have to do with space and time: 'Location construes the location of the unfolding of the process in space-time: the place where it unfolds or the time when it unfolds', whereas 'Extent construes the extent of the unfolding of the process in space-time: the distance in space over which the process unfolds or the duration in time during which the process unfolds' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 264–265).

   Within Location, both time and space may refer to actual location, to point of departure or to destination, as illustrated by (197), (198a, b) and (199, 200), respectively. Example (197) happens to include temporal as well as a spatial circumstantiality, both of them of the actual location type. Only space, however, can express both concrete (e.g. 198, 200) and abstract (e.g. 201) location, this distinction being blurred in the expression of time since time is in itself a more abstract concept than place.

Process: material and transitive and middle; Location: actual: time and space: concrete

(197) *Esta tarde*   *nos vemos*   *a las tres*   *en mi despacho del*
                                                 aeropuerto
       This afternoon (we) us see   at three   in my office of
                                                 the airport
       Circ: loc: time   Process   Circ: loc: time   Circ: loc: space
       'We'll meet in my airport office this afternoon at three o'clock'

Process: material and transitive and middle; Location: point of departure: space: concrete

(198a) *Los abogados salimos de la universidad   con una formación jurídica*
The lawyers go out   from the university with a legal training
Ac/Me   Process Circ: loc: space   Circ: manner: quality
'We lawyers leave university with a legal training'

Process: relational and transitive and pseudo-effective; Location: point of departure: time

(198b) *Estos dos quintetos   tienen   una rivalidad desde el año pasado*
These two quintets have   a rivalry   since last year
Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra   Circ: loc: time
'These two (basketball) teams have been big rivals since last year'

Process: material and transitive and middle; Location: destination: time

(199) *No nos moveremos   hasta que venga el gobernador*
(We) will not move   until the Governor comes
Process   Circ: loc: time
'We won't move till the Governor arrives'

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective; Location: destination: space: concrete

(200) *No sabía   hasta dónde llegaríamos*
(I) didn't know   until where we would arrive
Process   Circ: loc: space
'I didn't know how far we would reach'

Process: material and transitive and middle; Location: actual: space: abstract

(201) *su vida política posterior   se perdió   en el olvido*
his posterior political life got lost   in oblivion
Ac/Me   Process   Circ: loc: space

It is worth pointing out an interesting phenomenon that occurs with processes such as (199): when the main process is negative and the prepositional phrase's Complement (i.e. what comes after the preposition) is a *que*-clause, many native speakers of Spanish often negate the verb in the Completive, that is, *No nos moveremos hasta que **no** venga el gobernador*. This is easily explainable as the result of a double interference: first, that of the negative main process; second, that of the alternative realization *mientras no*

venga ('while he doesn't arrive'), which is also possible in Spanish. The speaker's focus seems to shift to the present non-occurrence of the event (in this case, the Governor's not-arriving) even if the semantics of the preposition chosen (i.e. *hasta*) takes us to the time when the event will take place (i.e. his arriving). Conversely, if the main process is affirmative (e.g. *Estaremos aquí hasta que venga* ['we'll be here till he arrives']) the logically correct expression of the circumstance is not jeopardized, even if the alternative *Estaremos aquí mientras no venga* (lit. 'We'll be here while he doesn't arrive') is still possible.

Extension, the same as Location, is prototypically realized by prepositional phrases, although the preposition can often be left out, by which the group realizing the circumstance is no longer prepositional but nominal. Examples (202) and (203) illustrate the realization with and without preposition, respectively, of temporal circumstances of Extension. Incidentally and as can be seen, (202) contains not only the circumstance under discussion in this paragraph but also a temporal and a spatial circumstance of Location. In turn, (203) shows not only one but two processes (dependent on a main mental process): the first one with a circumstance and the second one with an Attribute. The groups realizing these two constituents are very similar, but the semantic nature of the process makes them take different roles. In the case of spatial circumstances, however, the realization through Nominal Group seems to make the constituent more nuclear, and analysing it as Range is therefore a more felicitous choice. This is why whereas (204) includes an Extension circumstance, (205) has a Range, precisely of the circumstantial type (see section 3.3.1.1 above for the difference between circumstantial and cognate object Scope/Range).

Process: material and transitive and middle; Extension: time: prepositional phrase

(202)	*Jordi Savall*	*recaló*	*ayer*	*durante unas horas*	*en Sitges*
	Jordi Savall	stopped	yesterday	for a few hours	in Sitges
	Ac/Me	Process	Circ: loc: time	Circ: ext: time	Circ: loc: place

Process (β): verbal and transitive and middle; Extension: time: Nominal Group

(203)	*pensaba*	*hablar*	*una hora*	*y . . .*	*tengo*	*seis minutos*
	(I) thought	speak	one hour	and	(I) have	six minutes
	Process (α)→(β)	Process	Circ: ext: time		Process	At/Ra

'I was thinking of speaking (for) an hour but I only have six minutes'

Process: material and transitive and effective (inherently Goal-directed);
Extension: space

(204) *Seis buzos de la estación de Kennedy*   *buscaron*   *por el sitio donde . . .*
     Six divers from Kennedy Station   searched   by the place where . . .
     Ac/Ag   Process   Circ: ext: place

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective

(205) *Yo*   *anduve*   *muchos caminos*
     I   walked   many roads
     Ac/Me   Process   Sc/Ra

Manner circumstances are further divided into quality, comparison, means and degree. Quality is often expressed by means of an Adverbial Group, as we can see in (206), although realizations through prepositional phrases, such as (207), also occur. Occasionally, the same circumstance may be taken as one of manner (208a) or one of time, mostly of the Extension type (208b). There is often a fine line between manner, Attributes and, notably, Attributions. When talking about relational processes, we saw that the participant function Attribute sometimes appears in non-relational constructions as the one illustrated in (209). There we also mentioned that when the attribute relates to a Complement – unlike in (209), where it relates to a Subject – it is not so easily replaceable by a pronoun (in 209, *llegaban cansados* → *lo llegaban*). In fact, when the attribute relates to a Complement, it does not take the role of Attribute but that of Attribution, as in ergative relative processes, and is therefore not a participant. This is so because, as illustrated by (210a), the adjective does not actually depend so much on the Complement as on the Process, and thus very closely resembles a circumstance of Manner. Therefore, *caro* in (210a) could be taken to refer to a quality of the sold item, in which case it would be an Attribution, but it could arguably also be taken to express how the item is sold, that is, in an expensive way, as the analysis of the same process in (210b) suggests. This closeness in meaning explains well that this subgroup of Manner is precisely named *quality*. As we will see in section 3.5, English makes a distinction between the two meanings (i.e. *expensive* vs *expensively*).

Process: material and transitive and effective; Circumstance:
quality: Adverbial Group

(206) *hemos anotado*   *cuidadosamente*   *las declaraciones*
     (we) have annotated   carefully   the statements
     Process   Circ: manner: quality   Go/Me
     'We have carefully written down the statement'

Process: material and transitive and effective; Circumstance: quality: prepositional phrase

(207) *Hemos revisado*   *con cuidado*   *el texto del Informe*
      (We) have revised   with care   the text of the report
      Process   Circ: manner: quality   Go/Me
      'We have carefully revised the text of the report'

Process: material and transitive and effective

(208a) *bueno*   *me*   *preparo*   *constantemente*
       well   me   prepare   constantly
               Go/Me   Process   Circ: manner: quality

(208b) *bueno*   *me*   *preparo*   *constantemente*
               Go/Me   Process   Circ: extension: time
       'Well, I prepare myself constantly'

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective

(209) *los maridos, ejecutivos agresivos,*   *llegaban*   *cansados* *a casa*
      the husbands, tough executives   arrived   tired   at home
      Ac/Me   Process   At/Ra   Circ: loc: place
      'Their husbands . . . would get home tired'

Process: material and transitive and effective

(210a) *lo*   *venden*   *caro,*   *¿no?*
       It   (they) sell   expensive   no?
       Go/Me   Process   At-on

(210b) *lo*   *venden*   *caro,*   *¿no?*
       Go/Me   Process   Circ: manner: quality
       'They sell it expensive(ly), don't they?'

The other three kinds of Manner circumstances are less prone to impinge on the typological space of other elements of the lexicogrammar. Only circumstances of comparison may on occasion resemble something else – namely circumstances of Role: guise, which will be seen later on. Both types of circumstance share to an extent the range of verbs they can go with; this, added to the fact that they typically take the same preposition, that is, *como*, results in practically identical structures, as can be appreciated in (211, 212). The context as well as the fact that, in the singular, comparison tends to incorporate an indefinite pronoun, as seen in (212), makes the intended meaning clear. In spite of this resemblance, the dividing line between comparison and role is clearer than the one between quality and Attribution,

since no possible dual interpretation exists in this case. Means and degree, in turn, are quite clear-cut categories; the former is typically expressed by a prepositional phrase, as in (213) in (214a) or a Present Participle, as in (214b), whereas the latter is realized by Adverbial Groups as the ones in (215) and (216), prepositional phrases such as the one in (217) being a less frequent, more marked realization. As the analysis shows, *de madera* in (214a) is a circumstantial Attribute in a relational process, and therefore a nuclear participant, rather than a circumstance proper; which it becomes when accompanying verbs different from *to be*, for example, *he comprado un ataud de madera* ('I've bought a wooden coffin' [lit. 'a coffin of wood']).

Process: material and transitive and middle; Circumstance:
manner: comparison

(211) *Trabajé   como un animal*
     (I) worked   like an animal
     Process   Circ: manner: comparison

Process: material and transitive and middle: Circumstance: role: guise

(212) *Liana Souvaltzi   trabaja   como 'free lance'*
     Liana Souvaltzi works   as a freelance
     Ac/Me   Process   Circ: role: guise

Process: material and transitive and middle

(213) *Los ciclistas   saldrán   hoy   en tren*
     the cyclists   will leave today   by train
     Ac/Me   Process   Circ: loc: time   Circ: manner: means

Process: relational and transitive and pseudo-effective

(214a) *Los ataúdes   serán   de madera*
      The coffins   will be   of wood
      Ca/Me   Process   (circumstantial [manner: means]) At/Ra
      'The coffins will be made of wood'

Process: material and ergative and effective

(214b) *se   desenrosca la tapa girándola y tirando de una anilla lateralmente*
      IMP   unscrew   the lid twisting it and pulling from a ring laterally
      Ac/Ag Process   Go/Me Circ: manner: means
      'One can unscrew the lid by twisting it and laterally pulling from
      a ring'

Process: mental and transitive and effective; Circumstance: degree: Adverbial Group

(215) *me* *gustó* *mucho* *lo que vi el miércoles en Zaragoza*
   me   pleased much what (I) saw on Wed. in Zaragoza
   Se/Me Process Circ: manner: degree Ph/Ag
   'I really liked what I saw in Zaragoza on Wednesday'

Process: mental and transitive and effective; Circumstance: degree: Adverbial Group

(216) *Sí,* *me* *gusta* *un poco*
   Yes me pleases a little
      Se/Me Process Circ: manner: degree
   'Yes, I like it a little'

Process: material and transitive and effective; Circumstance: degree: prepositional phrase

(217) *un pelotón en la última vuelta puede acelerar* *en gran medida*   *el ritmo*
   a group in the last lap may accelerate to a great extent the pace
   Ac/Ag   Process   Circ: manner: degree Go/Me
   'A group in the last lap may increase its pace significantly'

The next enhancing circumstances are those of Cause, further subdivided into reason, purpose and behalf. Reason typically accompanies material and mental processes, such as (218a, b) and (219), although the other process types may also take it, as is the case in the relational (220). Its prototypical realization is by means of a prepositional phrase, as in (218–220), often *por* or *a causa de* but also *al* (contraction of the preposition *a* and the article *el*) followed by Infinitive, as illustrated by (218b). The Circumstance of purpose, usually called *final* in Spanish grammars (see, for example, RAE 1986: 536; Seco 1996: 156) has the sense of 'in order that', as opposed to the sense of 'because' associated with reason (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 269–270). This opposition roughly coincides with that existing between *por* – one of whose uses has to do with the expression of reason, as in (218) – and *para*, used among other things to express purpose, as is done in (221) and (222). Both kinds of causal circumstances, more pervasively in the case of purpose, often have a clausal realization in a prepositional phrase, as seen in (220) and (221, 222). Finally, although the notions of reason and purpose occupy opposite positions with respect to the here and now of the nuclear process – reason preceding it and reason following it – such distinction can

be on occasions irrelevant, the expression of a circumstance as reason or as purpose becoming simply a question of perspective. Thus, what is adduced as purpose in (222) can perfectly be expressed as a reason, as is done in (223), the essential meaning of the overall process remaining basically unaltered.

Process: material and transitive and effective

(218a)	*tuvieron que abandonar*	*este método*	*por las fuertes críticas que despertó*
	(they) had to give up	that method	for the harsh criticism it aroused
	Process	Go/Me	Circ: cause: reason

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective

(218b)	*Los vecinos*	*prendieron*	*fuego*	*al árbol*	*al creer que era un posible*
					nido de serpientes
	The neighbours	set	fire	to the tree	on believing that it was a
					Possible nest of snakes
	Ac/Me	Process	Sc/Ra	Re/Be	Circ: cause: reason

'The neighbours set the tree on fire in the belief that it was a potential nest of snakes'

Process: mental and transitive and effective

(219)	*lo*	*había conmovido*	*profundamente*	*a causa de su pobreza*
	him	had moved	deeply	because of his/her poverty
	Se/Me	Process	Circ: manner: degree	Circ: cause: reason

'He/she had moved him deeply because of his/her poverty' ('His/her poverty had moved him deeply')

Process: relational and attributive and transitive and pseudo-effective

(220)	*estamos*	*aquí*	*por un capricho de la fortuna*
	(we) are	here	because of a whim of fortune
	Process	At/Ra	Circ: cause: reason

Process: mental and transitive and effective

(221)	*Debo aprender*	*a ser invisible*	*para dejar de ver lo que yo me imagino*
	(I) must learn	to be invisible	in order to stop seeing what I imagine
	Process	Ph/Ra	Circ: cause: purpose

Process: material and transitive and effective; Circumstance: purpose

(222)	*no*	*lo*	*hago*	*para ofender a nadie*
	NEG	it	(I) do	to offend anyone
	Pro-	Go/Me	-cess	Circ: cause: purpose

'I'm not doing it to offend anyone'

Process: material and transitive and effective

(223) | no | lo | hago | por ofender a nadie |
| NEG | it | (I) do | for offending anyone |
| Pro- | Go/Me | -cess | Circ: cause: reason |

'I'm not doing it because I want to offend anyone (I don't mean to offend anyone by doing that)'

Por-prepositional phrases are also the typical realization of circumstances of behalf, the third group within Cause. Unlike reason, however, the instantiation of behalf tends to be through nominal rather than clausal complements in the prepositional phrase, as illustrated by (224) and (225). Circumstances of behalf are semantically very close to Clients, that is, Beneficiaries in material clauses realized by *para*-prepositional phrases, as can be observed by comparing the processes in (225) and (226). They are phenotypically, that is, manifestly, differentiated by the different preposition they take, *por* with behalf, *para* with Clients.

Process: relational: attributive: circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective

(224) | tú | estás | en mi nombre y en nombre de todos los cristianos |
| you | are | in my name and in the name of all Christians |
| Ca/Me | Process | Circ: cause: behalf |

'You are here in my name and in the name of all Christians'

Process: material and transitive and effective; Circumstance: behalf

(225) | lo | han hecho | por su pueblo |
| it | (they) have done | for their people |
| Go/Me | Process | Circ: cause: behalf |

Process: verbal and transitive and pseudo-effective; +Client

(226) | solicita | 'justicia' | para su pueblo |
| (he) demands | justice | for his people |
| Process | Ve/Ra | Cl/Be |

We move on now to discuss the last group of enhancing circumstances, that is, those expressing the general meaning of Contingency, further subdivided into condition, default and concession. Contingency specifies 'an element on which the actualization of the process depends' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 271), its three different types forming quite clear-cut, self-explanatory categories: condition (227) has the sense of 'if', concession (228) has the sense of 'although' and default (229) that of 'if not, unless'

Table 3.9 Enhancing circumstances in Spanish and their prototypical realizations

Extent	Space	*Por, a lo largo de, a través de, durante,* Nominal Group
	Time	*Durante, por, hasta*
Location	Space	[actual:] *En, debajo (de), bajo, contra, entre, sobre, detrás (de), tras, fuera (de), dentro (de), allí, aquí, arriba, abajo, al lado (de)...* [destination:] *a, hacia, hasta, para* [point of departure:] *de, desde*
	Time	[actual:] *a* (e.g. *a las tres*), *en, (no) después (de), (no) antes (de), hacia, alrededor de, sobre* [destination:] *hasta, para* [point of departure:] *de, desde*
Manner	Means	*Con, de (madera, hierro . . .), en/tren, barco), a (pie, caballo), por medio de, así, de esta forma/manera,* present participle
	Quality	*De forma/modo/manera (elegante, poco ortodoxa . . .), con (clase, habilidad . . .), (muy) bien, (muy) mal, regular, así así, a lo (campeón, bruto . . .),* Adv. Group, past participle
	Comparison	*Como, a la (francesa, italiana...), de forma distinta a,* adverbs of comparison
	Degree	*Mucho, bastante, un poco, algo, considerablemente, una pizca, hasta cierto punto, en gran medida, relativamente*
Cause	Reason	*Por, a causa de, por razones, por motivos, al (+ inf.)*
	Purpose	*Para, con el fin de, con objeto de*
	Behalf	*En nombre de, por*
Contingency	Condition	*En caso de*
	Concession	*A pesar de*
	Default	*A falta de*

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 271–272). As a wrap-up to enhancing circumstances, Table 3.9 provides prototypical realizations of each type within this group.

Process: mental and transitive and pseudo-effective

(227) *en caso de duda,*   *elige*   *lo seguro*
       in case of doubt   choose   the safe
       Circ: cont: condition   Process   Ph/Ra
       'In case of doubt go for the safe pick'

Process: relational: attributive: circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective

(228) *el campo,*   *a pesar de la lluvia,*   *se encuentra*   *en perfectas condiciones*
       the field   in spite of the rain   finds itself   in perfect conditions
       Ca/Me   Circ: cont: concession   Process   At/Ra

(229) *a falta de pruebas,*   *el testimonio de la víctima*   *nos* *parece*   *coherente*
       short of evidence   the testimony of the victim us   seems   coherent

Circ: cont: default Ca/Me   Be/Ra   Process At/Ra
'Short of evidence, the victim's testimony seems coherent to us'

3.4.3 Extending circumstances

Circumstances whose logical relationship with the nuclear process is one of extension are reduced to a single kind: Accompaniment, further divisible into comitative and additive. The former 'represents the process as a single instance of a process . . . in which two entities are involved' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 273), as illustrated by the positive (230), or in which one of the two entities is not involved (231), whereas additive accompaniment 'represents the process as two instances . . . one of them . . . represented circumstantially for the purpose of contrast' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 273), again positively (232) or negatively (233). The just alluded 'purposes of contrast' make additive accompaniment a more marked option than the comitative.

Process: material and transitive and middle; Circumstance: accompaniment: comitative: positive

(230)	*yo,*	*mientras,*	*bailé*	*con Gabriel*
	I	meanwhile	danced	with Gabriel
	Ac/Me	Circ: loc: time	Process	Circ: accomp: comitative

Process: material and transitive and middle; Circumstance: accompaniment: comitative: negative

(231)	*llegaron*	*sin sus familias*
	(they) arrived	without their families
	Process	Circ: accomp: comitative

Process: material and transitive and middle; Circumstance: accompaniment: additive: positive

(232)	*El Actor Tres*	*se levanta y se aleja,*	*al igual que los demás actores*
	Actor Three	stands up and goes away	as well as the other actors
	Ac/Me	Process (×2)	Circ: accomp: additive

Process: verbal and transitive and middle; Circumstance: accompaniment: additive: negative

(233)	*Don Amedio*	*me*	*respondió*	*en vez de mi maestro*
	Don Amedio	me	answered	instead of my teacher
	Sa/Me	Re/Be	Process	Circ: accomp: additive

'Don Amedio, instead of my teacher, answered me'

As pointed out by Matthiessen (1995a: 343), circumstances of accompaniment may include the notion of co-participation, whether as existing (230 and 232, above) or non-existing (231 and 233), as well as a more passive kind of accompaniment (234, below). Whereas the former lend themselves to an alternative realization in which the circumstantial element, mostly if positive, is integrated as part of the Medium, as illustrated by our transformation of (230, 232) into (235, 236), the same alternative is not possible with passive accompaniment. This is shown by (237), the would-be transformation of (234). Obviously, the choice for the non-circumstantial realization of co-participation eliminates all trace of contrast. Finally, and before seeing prototypical realizations of extending circumstances in Table 3.10, example (238) shows an additional limitation in the expression of passive accompaniment, which cannot be realized additively with an active participant, the process in (238), as is the case with (237), not being a possible alternative to (234).

Process: material and transitive and middle; Circumstance: accompaniment: comitative: positive: passive

(234)	*Alejandro*	*llegó*	*con un ramo de margaritas*
	Alejandro	arrived	with a bunch of daisies
	Ac/Me	Process	Circ: accomp: comitative

Process: material and transitive and middle

(235) *Gabriel y yo, mientras, bailamos*
            'Gabriel and I, meanwhile, danced'

Process: material and transitive and middle

(236) *El Actor Tres y los demás actores se levantan y se alejan*
            'Actor Three and the other actors stand up and go away'

Process: material and transitive and middle

(237) **Alejandro y un ramo de margaritas llegaron*
            '*Alejandro and a bunch of daisies arrived'

Process: mental and transitive and pseudo-effective; Circumstance: accompaniment: additive: positive: passive

(238) **Alejandro llegó al igual que un ramo de margaritas*
            '*Alejandro arrived as well as a bunch of daisies'

Table 3.10   Extending circumstances in Spanish and their prototypical realizations

Accompaniment	Comitative	[positive:] *Con, en compañía de, acompañado/a(s) de* [negative:] *sin*
	Additive	[positive:] *al igual que, así como* [negative:] *en vez de, en lugar de*

3.4.4 Elaborating circumstances

The same as in the case of extension, circumstantial elaboration brings about one single type of circumstantial meaning, in this case that of Role, further divisible into guise and product. As Halliday and Matthiessen explain, Role 'corresponds to the Attribute or Value of an intensive relational clause' (2004: 274). Guise 'construes the meaning of *be* . . . in the form of a circumstance' (2004: 274) in a variety of process types, as seen in (239–241). When the process is relational, as in (241), the prototypical realization is by means of *estar*. Product, in turn, has 'the meaning of "become"' (2004: 275), as is clearly illustrated by (242), to which we may add the meaning 'cause to become' in the case of effective processes such as (243). As can be appreciated, product in relational clauses reminds of – and is very close in meaning to – ergative relational meanings with *volver(se) poner(se)* ('turn'), with the only difference that the circumstantial realization takes a preposition. This resemblance leads us to claim that product circumstances such as the one in (242) are in fact circumstantial Attributes in a circumstantial relational process (i.e. not intensive or possessive).

Process: mental and transitive and pseudo-effective

(239)   *lo*   *veía*   *como un padre*
        him   (he) saw   as a father
        Ph/Ra   Process   Circ: role: guise
        'He saw him as a father'

Process: material and transitive and middle

(240)   *asistí*   *en calidad de invitado*
        (I) attended   in the capacity of guest
        Process   Circ: role: guise
        'I attended as a guest'

**Process: relational: attributive and circumstantial and
transitive and pseudo-effective**

(241) *ellos   estaban   allí   como escoltas de los miembros del tribunal*
      they   were   there   as bodyguards of the members of the tribunal
      Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra   Circ: role: guise

**Process: relational: attributive and circumstantial and ergative and
pseudo-effective; Role as Attribute**

(242) *Cedella Booker   se ha convertido   en toda una celebridad*
      Cedella Booker   has turned   into a real celebrity
      Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra (role: product)

Process: material and transitive and effective

(243) *Se   cortan   las cebollas   en láminas de un cm*
      IMP   cut   the onions   in slices of one cm
      Ac/Ag   Process   Go/Me   Circ: role: product
      'The onions are cut into 1cm slices'

As said above, and as examples (239–242) have shown, Role has affinities
with Attributes and Values. In addition, it may on occasions resemble a
Range. For instance, the process in (239) could easily be re-expressed as the
mental (244), with *un padre* as attribution dependent on the Phenomenon
lo, rather than as guise, and with practically identical meaning. In some
other cases, however, the circumstance of guise is so non-nuclear that one
could think of it almost as textual element, which is the case in (245), below,
where *como aguafiestas* resembles a discourse Theme. Product, on the other
hand, tends to be very close to nuclear transitivity; *en láminas de un cm* in
(243), above, looks like a Range since it, to a certain extent, specifies the
scope of the Process. This resemblance should strike as no surprise if we
remember the borderline nature of some Ranges between participant and
circumstance (see section 3.3.1.1). Table 3.11 shows prototypical realiza-
tions of elaborating circumstances.

Process: mental and transitive and pseudo-effective

(244) *Lo   consideraba   un padre* (not from CREA)
      him   (he) considered   a father
      Ph/Ra   Process   At-on[23]
      'He considered him a father'

Table 3.11   Elaborating circumstances in
Spanish and their prototypical realizations

Role	Guise	*Como, en calidad de*
	Product	*En*

Process: relational and transitive and pseudo-effective

(245) *Como aguafiestas* *no tiene* *igual*
      As a wet blanket   (he) doesn't have   equal
      Circ: role: guise   Process   At/Ra
      'As a wet blanket he has no match'

With this overview of circumstantial transitivity, we put an end to our description of the system of TRANSITIVITY in Spanish. The following contrastive section will allow us now to look at some commonalities and differences in the experiential lexicogrammar of English and Spanish.

3.5 Contrastive section

The contrast of the experiential grammar of English and Spanish can be made by looking at the most general systems, where both languages share resources to a great extent, with a few but important differences that will be commented on, or it can be made by looking further deep into delicacy, where, as is to be expected, differences between the two languages become more acute as we move rightwards (thinking of the graphical representation of system networks). To tackle our contrastive study, we will proceed as we did in the general descriptive section of Spanish, that is, by looking at each process type at a time. TRANSITIVITY systems having been those within the lexicogrammar on which more contrastive work has been done previously, we will refer as we go along to those sources where different issues of the contrastive description here provided are dealt with more specifically.

3.5.1 Contrasts in material TRANSITIVITY

The system network in Figure 3.8, below, captures the paradigmatic potential of Spanish material TRANSITIVITY in the light of the description made
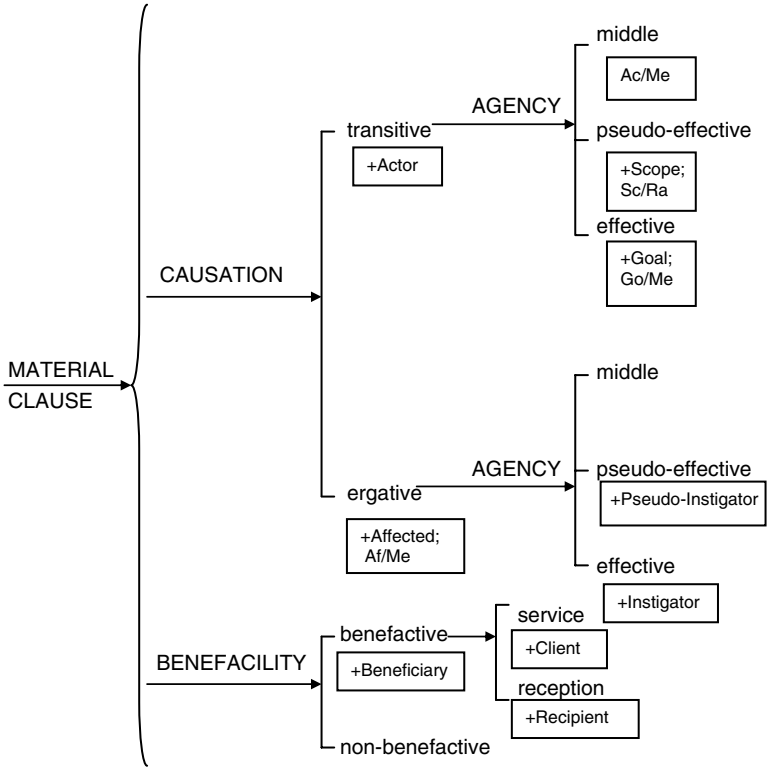
FIGURE 3.8 General material TRANSITIVITY network (English and Spanish)

in the preceding pages. The very same system network, however, also suits the representation of the corresponding English material TRANSITIVITY systems, as both languages share resources at this very general stage, not only concerning choices in the network but also regarding the most general realization rules specified in the boxes accompanying the system features.

Speaking of specific realization, both languages often make parallel co-selections. In examples (246) and (247), for instance, the Spanish processes from the CREA corpus and their English translations share paradigmatic co-selections from the systems of CAUSATION and AGENCY: example (246) illustrates the transitive options with the selections of middle (246a), pseudo-effective (246b) and effective (246c); example (247), in turn, shows the ergative options with the same selections: middle (247a), pseudo-effective (247b) and effective (247c).

Process: material and transitive and middle

(246a)   *El domingo*   *corro*   *en Markina*
         On Sunday   (I) run   in Markina
         Circ: time   Process   Circ: place
         'I'm running in Markina on Sunday'

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective

(246b)   *Pero* *su socio Ed Viesturs y él*   *escalaron* *la montaña*   *de todos modos*
         Yet   his partner Ed V. and he climbed   the mountain anyhow
               Ac/Me   Process   Sc/Ra

Process: material and transitive and effective

(246c)   *Primero*   *lo*   *golpeó*   *con una botella de licor*
         First   him   (he) hit   with a bottle of liquor
         Circ: time Go/Me   Process   Circ: means
         'He first hit him with a bottle of liquor'

Process: material and ergative and middle

(247a)   *La pelota*   *botó*   *detrás de la línea de meta*
         The ball   bounced   behind the goal line
         Af/Me   Process   Circ: place

Process: material and ergative and pseudo-effective

(247b)   *El presidente*   *se fracturó* *la clavícula izquierda* *el sábado*
         The president   fractured   the left collarbone   on Saturday
         Ps-Ins   Process   Af/Me   Circ: time

Process: material and ergative and effective

(247c)   *uno*   *botaba*   *la pelota* *y el otro se la tenía que quitar*
         one   would bounce   the ball   and the other had to snatch it
                                                         from him
         Ins/Ag   Process   Af/Me

   English and Spanish not only coincide on the co-selections that can be made in the NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY system network; they also show a parallelism as to the co-selections that cannot be made. Thus, a transitive: middle process such as (248a) has no alternative effective process of the likes of (248b) in either language. To express cause, both languages need to resort to analytical causation such as (248c), which, as shown long time ago by Fodor (1970), does not express the exact same meaning as

synthetic causation. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 509) use different transitive labels for the Agent in a synthetic causative process, that is, Actor, and in an analytical causative process, that is, Initiator, to reflect the different degrees of implication of the Agent in each kind of causative construction.

Process: material and transitive and middle

(248a)	*y*	*esa noche*	*el señor*		*murió*	*de una embolia masiva*
	and	that night	the gentleman		died	of a massive embolism
		Circ: time	Ac/Me		Process	Circ: cause

Process: material and transitive and effective

(248b)	**han muerto*	*al señor*
	*(they) have died	to the gentleman

Process: material and transitive and effective: analytical causation

(248c)	*al Señor de la gloria*	*lo*	*hicieron morir*
	to the Lord of glory	him	(they) made die
	Ac/	/Me	Process
	'The Lord of glory, they made him die'		

Despite the similarities in their paradigmatic potential and in the co-selection illustrated by (246–248), both languages may, as indicated at the beginning of this chapter, behave differently when we compare certain processes. Example (249) illustrates an ergative pair in English in which (249a) represents the middle option and (249b) the effective option. On the other hand, the corresponding process in Spanish, illustrated in (250), only allows the middle option (250a), as there is no such effective counterpart as (250b). In this case there is not even the possibility to resort to analytical causation; at least no example was found in our corpus search. Conversely, examples (251–252) show the exact reverse, that is, a Spanish ergative pair (251) with no ergative counterpart in English (252). There is a way in the pairs (249–250) and (251–252) are not identical: whereas in the former the Spanish transitive process (250a) is middle, in the latter the English transitive process (252a) is effective. This is just a consequence of the random selection of examples, but it serves to perfectly illustrate the different nature of the transitive and the ergative constellations: whereas ergative processes have middle and effective versions, transitive processes are **either** only middle (or pseudo-effective) **or** only effective.

(249a) The machine operates by a Start/Stop button

(249b) He operates some kind of machine

(250a) *la máquina opera a la perfección*
       'the machine operates perfectly'

(250b) **operaron la máquina con facilidad*
       'they operated the machine easily'

(251a) *El casco aparentemente se ha dañado*
       'The hull is apparently damaged'

(251b) *un equipo de buzos* [. . .] *se encarga de supervisar que* [. . .] *no queden piedras que puedan dañar el casco de las naves*
       'a team of divers is in charge of supervising that there are no rocks left that may damage the vessels' hulls'

(252a) The plaintiff's ship was damaged in a collision for which the defendant's ship was responsible

(252b) *The ship damaged

As illustrated by examples (249–252), the transitive/ergative distinction is important when we contrast Spanish and English processes. Both languages seem to show the tendency, pointed out by Halliday and Matthiessen for English, towards becoming more and more ergative, although not through identical paths. Whereas in material TRANSITIVITY both English and Spanish – somewhat more the former than the latter – have a good deal of ergative processes, we will see below that mental ergativity is much more exploited by Spanish than by English.

Once we have seen differences and commonalities between English and Spanish at general levels of transitivity/ergativity, we move to discussing more specific areas of contrast. As will be done with the other process types, and as is done in the other chapters of this book, the contrast is going to focus on those aspects where the SFG-based description carried out in this work best allows to explain and understand such contrast.

One important area of contrast has to do with the limits of the use of the passive in both languages, notably in Spanish. We have seen above that Scopes, and particularly 'cognate object' type Scopes, are less likely to partake in passive structures in Spanish than Goals are; hence the bizarreness of realizations such as (253, 254). This contrasts with the ease with which such constructions can be accommodated in English, as illustrated by the BNC examples (255, 256). The arguable oddity of (253, 254) does not mean that such passives are impossible to find in Spanish. However, a search in

the CREA corpus for the strings 'fue escalada' ('was climbed') and 'es jugado' ('is played') gave only two returns for each, shown in (257–260) below, and these four examples could be argued to be non-preferred realizations in Spanish (unlike the unproblematic English translations thereof).

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective and passive; circumstantial Scope

(253) ¿¿*La montaña*   *fue escalada*   *repetidas veces*
       The mountain   was climbed   repeatedly
       Sc/Ra   Process   Circ: time

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective and passive; cognate object Scope

(254) ¿?*El fútbol*   *es jugado*   *mucho*   *aquí*
       Football   is played   a lot   here
       Sc/Ra   Process   Circ: degree Circ: space

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective and passive; circumstantial Scope

(255) the Old Man of Stoer [. . .] has been climbed to its top,   the first
                                                                           time in
                                                                  1966
       Sc/Ra   Process   Circ: degree Circ: time

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective and passive; cognate object Scope

(256) cricket   is played   all year round
       Sc/Ra   Process   Circ: time

(257) *La Esfinge [. . .] fue escalada por primera vez por ecuatorianos*
       'La Esfinge . . . was first climbed by Ecuadorians'

(258) *Es una cumbre de 3,780 metros, la cual [. . .] fue escalada por En-No-Shokaku en el año 633*
       'It's a 3,780 meter summit, which . . . was climbed by En-No-Shokaku in 633'

(259) *El fútbol es jugado por siete jugadores con diferente grado de parálisis cerebral*
       'Soccer is played by seven players with a varying degree of brain paralysis'

(260) *El rugby en silla de ruedas es jugado en pista cerrada*
      'Wheelchair rugby is played indoors'

The use of the passive in Spanish is therefore more limited in scope than in English. In fact, Spanish grammarians have deplored the excessive use of the passive in that language as inadequate and yielding to Anglophone influences (see, for example, Alcina and Blecua 1982: 903; Lorenzo 1996: 487). The question now is, how does Spanish express those meanings of the likes of (257–260) for which the passive is not a preferred option? There are basically two ways of doing this: either by means of impersonal or passive *se*-constructions (as seen in section 3.3.1.2 above, both are practically identical in terms of use), or by simply thematizing the participant that would become the Subject in the passive construction (see Chapter 4 for a comparison of thematization resources in English and Spanish; see also Arús 2004a, b for a deeper discussion of this specific contrastive issue). If we take, for instance, examples (257) and (260) from above – so as to consider both kinds of Scope, that is, cognate object and circumstantial – we can re-express them in the ways shown in (261) and (262), below. As already explained, s*e*-constructions do not welcome the expression of the Actor; that is why only one kind of rephrasing is suggested for (257), that is (261), whereas the two resources mentioned are used for the rephrasing of the Actorless (260), as (262a) and (262b).[24]

(261)   *La Esfinge la escalaron ecuatorianos por primera vez*

(262a)   *El rugby en silla de ruedas se juega en pista cerrada*

(262b)   *El rugby en silla de ruedas lo juegan en pista cerrada*

There are some English passives which are impossible to express as a passive in Spanish, notably the very frequent English passive Beneficiary as Subject, such as (263). As in this kind of passive the Agent is often left unexpressed, Spanish tends to resort to a third-person plural impersonal structure such as the one shown in (264). Note how in both the English passive and the Spanish impersonal the Recipient/Beneficiary is in thematic position, and thus the same sentence perspective is achieved (see Chapter 5 for more on textual aspects).

Process: material and transitive and effective and passive; Beneficiary/Subject

(263) she   was given   a catalogue from Hamley's toy shop
      Re/Be   Process   Go/Me

Process: material and transitive and effective and active; third-person plural impersonal

(264) l*e*   *dieron*   *un premio*
       him/her   (they) gave   an award
       Re/Be   Process   Go/Me
       '(s)he was given an award'

The third-person plural impersonal construction is also used in English, as illustrated by (265). With ergative processes, however, middle realizations are often used to achieve the same effect, as we can see by comparing English (266) and Spanish (267). As (268) shows, Spanish can also resort to the ergative middle; English, on the other hand, seems to disfavour the *they*-impersonal use of the ergative effective, as attested by the fact that our BNC corpus search for *they rang the bell* gave only three returns, none of them impersonal.

Process: material and transitive and effective and active

(265) In a village near Dahuk   they   executed   17 Baath Party officials
       Circ: place   Ac/Ag   Process   Go/Me

Process: material and ergative and middle

(266) He [. . .] was not too surprised when   the bell   rang
                                                Af/Me   Process

(267) *Al poco rato*   *llamaron*   *al timbre*
       Shortly after   (they) rang   the bell
       Circ: time   Process   Sc/Ra

(268) *A las once de la noche*   *sonó*   *el timbre de la puerta*
       At eleven o'clock p.m.   rang   the doorbell
       Circ: time   Process   Af/Me
       'The doorbell rang at eleven o'clock in the night'

Perhaps the most conclusive summary of the previous discussion is that, whereas every experiential participant can become a Subject in English, this conflation is practically restricted to the Agent and the Medium in Spanish.

Going now back to contrastive pairs such as (263–264), it is often the case that Spanish presents a reduplication of the thematized participant, as in (261), above, *La Esfinge la escalaron . . .*, where the clitic *la* reduplicates the participant *La Esfinge*. Such reduplication is alien to English, where there is no such equivalent realization as (270a), (270b, c) being the corresponding

English realizations. Contrarily to what one might think, the 'redundant' element (i.e. the disposable one) in the Spanish reduplication is not the atonic clitic but the tonic constituent. For instance, (269) has no alternative realization **a ella internaron en un sanatorio*, whereas *la internaron en un sana-torio* is a perfectly 'normal' realization in the proper context, for example, as an answer to *¿qué fue de Lupita?* ('what became of Lupita?'). As for the position of the (clitic) pronoun in the clause, we can see the contrast between its pre-verbal position in Spanish (269) – *la internaron* – and post-verbal in English (270b) – *took her*. Only in non-finite infinitival (271) or gerundival (272) clauses can the oblique Spanish pronoun follow the verb, in which case its clitic nature is fully revealed by dint of its affixation to the verb. The clitic can, however, be placed before the operator in these constructions, as shown by our rephrasing (273) and (274), without any notice-able change in meaning or use. There are some constructions, however, where the position of the clitic is not moveable, as is the case with *hay que* impersonals, where the clitic is always pre-verbal (275) or with the Impera-tive, where the clitic is always suffixed to the verb, as illustrated by (276), where not one but two clitics, that is, *me* and *lo* are appendixed to the verb.

(269) *a ella*   *la*   *internaron*   *en un sanatorio*
       to her   her   (they) took into   in a hospital
       Go/Me   Process   Circ: place

(270a) * To her her they took into hospital

(270b) They   took   her   into hospital
        Ac/Ag   Process   Go/Me   Circ: place

(270c) She   was taken   into hospital
        Go/Me   Process   Circ: place

(271) *La música*   *puede ayudar-te*
      The music   can help-you
      Ac/Ag   Process-Go/Me

(272) *he estado leyendo-lo*[25]   *esta noche*
      (I) have been reading-it   this evening
      Process-Go/Me   Circ: time

(273) *La música*   *te*   *puede ayudar*
      Ac/Ag   Go/Me   Process

(274) *lo*   *he estado leyendo*   *esta noche*
      Go/Me   Process   Circ: time

(275) *hay que llevar-la*   *una vez al mes*   *al veterinario*
        there has to take-her   once a month   to the veterinarian
        Process-Go/Me   Circ: time   Circ: place
        'She has to be taken to the vet once a month'

(276) *Si es dinero,*   *dá-me-lo*
        If it's money   give-me-it
                        Process-Re/Be-Go/Me
        'If it's money, give it to me'

Another relevant area of contrast has to do with the participant role *Pseudo-Instigator*. As will be remembered, we have opted for this label to the detriment of *Setting/Subject*, used by Davidse (1992) after Langacker (1991), for the pseudo-participant in ergative processes in English. We have opted for the label *Pseudo-Instigator* because we find it reflects better the deluding appearance of this participant. In addition, the reference to *setting* in *Setting/Subject* conveys an idea of circumstantiality more appropriate when applied to languages such as English, where this pseudo-participant has an intermediate status between participant and circumstance, as convincingly argued by Davidse (1992: 128–129). As we saw above – see the discussion *a propos* examples (46–51) – the pseudo-participant in Spanish pseudo-effective ergative processes is closer to a Beneficiary than to a Circumstance, with a higher degree of implication that precludes inanimate referents from being Pseudo-Instigators, as illustrated by (49–51), above, renumbered here as (277–279). We think these considerations, besides reflecting an important difference between English and Spanish at participanthood level, justify our choice for the label *Pseudo-Instigator*, bearing in mind that the second half of the label owes its existence to the effective participant *Instigator*, used here for the first time in the systemic literature.

Process: material and ergative and pseudo-effective

(277) The cooling system burst a pipe

(278) **El sistema de refrigeración se reventó una cañería*

**Process: material and ergative and middle; benefactive;
inanimate Beneficiary**

(279) *Al sistema de refrigeración*   *se*   *le*   *reventó*   *una cañería*
        to the cooling system   REFL   it-DAT   burst   a pipe
        Rec-/Bene-   Pro-   -ipient/-ficiary   -cess   Af/Me

We now leave the Pseudo-Instigator and turn to Attributes and Attributions, specifically those which refer to the clause's Subject, in middle, or (Direct) Complement, in pseudo-effective or effective non-relational clauses – usually material, but not always (see 283 below).[26] Whereas Attributions in (pseudo)-effective clauses have a similar distribution in both languages (e.g. 280–283), subjective Attributes are arguably commoner in Spanish than in English, which prefers manner circumstances, as shown by the contrast (284) versus (285–286) (see also the English free translation of the Attributes in [284]).

Process: material and transitive and effective

(280) *al Sena*   *lo*   *pintaron*   ***de violeta***
    to the Seine   it   (they) painted   of violet
             Go/Me   Process   At-on
    'they painted the Seine violet'

(281) Some people complained when the owners   painted it   **white**
                            Ac/Ag   Process Go/Me At-on

(282) *una noche*   *le*   *sirvió*   *la sopa*   ***fría***
    one evening   him   (s/he) served   the soup   cold
    Circ: time   Re/Be   Process   Go/Me   At-on
    'one evening s/he served him/her his/her soup cold'

Process: mental and transitive and pseudo-effective

(283) I   like   my women   **big and round and female**
    Se/Me   Process   Ph/Ra   At-on

Process: material and transitive and middle

(284) *esos niños que [. . .]*   *corren*   *alegres y descuidados*   *por calles y jardines*
                      run   happy and careless   by streets and
                                                 gardens
                     Process At/Ra   Circ: place
    'those kids who [. . .] run happily and carelessly around streets and gardens'

(285) he   chatted   happily   to convicted robbers
    Ac/Me   Process   Circ: manner   Re/Be

(286) Kitty took out her cigarettes and   lit   one   **nonchalantly**
                                    Process   Go/Me   Circ: manner

The adjectives *alegres* and *descuidados* in (284), above, are therefore very close to circumstances in the way they are used. On some other occasions, however, adjectives can function as manner circumstances, as illustrated by (287–289), below. These are in fact de-adjectival adverbs (see RAE 1986: 408), which, to a lesser extent, also exist in English, as seen in (290, 291).

Process: material and transitive and effective

(287) | *lo* | *apretó* | ***fuerte*** | *entre los dedos* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| it | (he) squeezed | hard | between the fingers |
| Go/Me | Process | Circ: manner | Circ: place |

'he squeezed it hard in his fingers'

Process: verbal and transitive and middle

(288) | *¿Por qué* | *no habla* | ***claro***? |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Why | don't (you) speak | clear |
| Circ: cause | Process | Circ: manner |

'Why don't you speak clearly?'

Process: material and transitive and middle

(289) | *me fui* | ***rápido*** | *a la Sección Créditos* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| (I) left | fast | to the Loans Section |
| Process | Circ: manner | Circ: place |

'I quickly went to the Loans Section'

(290) | But | she | grows | real **quick** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Ac/Me | Process | Circ: manner |

Process: verbal and transitive and middle

(291) | her body | spoke | **loud** and **clear** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Ac/Me | Process | Circ: manner |

Another interesting area of contrast lies within a subgroup of material processes. These processes are treated in *IFG* as a distinct process type from the material (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 248) but we prefer to include them as a subtype of material processes, as does Matthiessen (1995a: 251–252), given that all behavioural processes express a 'doing something' or 'doing something to/with someone'. The latter are called interactive processes, and, as illustrated by (292, 293), both English and Spanish may express the interaction by means of the paratactic extension of the Actor ('Behaver' in *IFG*, see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 250) or by means of

a circumstance of accompaniment. Only English, however, may construe the interactive behavioural experience through a middle process accompanied by a reciprocal pronoun, as shown in (294a, b).

Process: material: behavioural and transitive and pseudo-effective

(292) *las debutantes y sus caballeros*   *bailaron*   *el primer vals de la noche*
      The debutants and their gentlemen   danced   the first waltz of the evening
      Ac/Me   Process   Sc/Ra

Process: material: behavioural and transitive and middle

(293) *El novio*   *bailó*   *con todas las invitadas que pudo*
      The groom   danced   with as many guests as he could
      Ac/Me   Process   Circ: accomp

(294a) *everybody*   *danced*   *with each other*
       Ac/Me   Process   Circ: accomp

(294b) **todo el mudo bailó entre ellos/el uno con el otro*
       'everybody danced with each other'

The processes above are pseudo-effective (292) or middle (293, 294); when the interactive process is effective, a reciprocal clitic, fulfilling the role of Goal, is mandatory in Spanish if no other clause constituent is the Goal. Examples (295) and (296), below, illustrate this point. In English, on the other hand, it is possible to realize the same interactive process without a Goal, as shown by (297). The interesting thing here is that (297) looks like a middle, rather than effective process, but this kind of realization is only possible precisely with expressed interaction; (298) is not a possible realization, which leads us to consider (297) an inherently Goal-directed effective process, where the inherent Goal would be the reciprocal *each other*. In any case, it seems clear that (297) retains a high middle 'flavour', which points to the non-prototypical effectiveness of this kind of process (i.e. it seems to be in an intermediate position along the middle-to-effective cline).

Process: material: behavioural and transitive and effective

(295) *Ernie y Alexis*   *se*   *besaron y se*   *abrazaron en el muelle*
      Ernie and Alexis REC   kissed   and   REC   hugged   on the quay
      Ac/Ag   Go/Me Process   Go/Me   Process   Circ: place

(296) *La Cleo   besó   a su madre*
       La Cleo   kissed   to her mother
       Ac/Ag   Process   Go/Me
       'La Cleo kissed her mother'

(297) we   kissed   and we were making out
       Ac/Ag   Process

(298) *he kissed

Matthiessen (1995a) provides a classification of material processes tabulated 'according to the type of relational process to which the result of the occurrence of the material process can be classified as belonging' (1995a: 246–248). This results in a classification of material processes within which dispositive processes, for instance, are divided into 'intensive result' (e.g. *burn*, *chop*), 'possessive result' (e.g. *hire*, *catch*) and 'circumstantial result' (e.g. *bounce*, *go*). Drawing on this, Arús (2007: 261–264) proposes a similar classification for material processes in Spanish. Among intensive result dispositive material clauses, some of them 'have near causative or inceptive intensive relational correlates', as pointed out by Matthiessen (1995a: 249) for English. This means material processes such as (299a) or (300a) may be expressed relationally as (299b) and (300b) (our rephrasing), respectively; this is supported by the existence of corpus examples such as (299c) and (300c). The processes that lend themselves to this transformation tend to be ergative, as the middle (299a) and the effective (300a). In Spanish, the same correlation exists only with middle ergative dispositive processes of intensive result, as is the case in (301a, b). Effective ergatives, on the other hand, have analytical causation correlates, as shown in (302a, b).

Process: material: behavioural and ergative and middle: intensive result
(299a) The sky   darkened   and the moon came out
        Af/Me   Process

Process: relational: attributive and intensive and transitive and pseudo-effective
(299b) The sky turned dark

(299c) Then   the room   went   dark
        Circ: time Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra

Process: material: behavioural and ergative and effective: intensive result

(300a)

it	heated	the water	in the winter
Ins/Ag	Process	Af/Me	Circ: time

Process: relational: attributive and intensive and transitive and effective

(300b) it made the water hot

(300c) if the same electricity went into an oven it made things hot

	At-or/Ag	Process	Ca/Me	At/Ra

Process: material: behavioural and ergative and middle: intensive result

(301a)

En un santiamén,	*todo*	*se oscureció*
In a jiffy	all	darkened
Circ: time	Af/Me	Process

Process: relational: attributive and intensive and ergative and middle

(301b)

A las cinco	*se pone*	*oscuro*	*y ¿dónde va uno?*
At five	turns	dark	and, where does one go?
Circ: time	Process	At-on	

Process: material: behavioural and ergative and effective: intensive result

(302a)

50% de la energía eléctrica	*calienta*	*el agua*
50% of electric energy	heats	the water
Ins/Ag	Process	Af/Me

Process: material: behavioural and ergative and effective: intensive result: analytical causation

(302b)

se	*hace calentar*	*un rato*	*en el fuego*
IMP	makes heat	a while	on the fire
Ins/Ag	Process	Circ: time	Circ: place

'It is put to heat on the fire for a while'

These are some of the Spanish/English contrasts that can be found in the system of material TRANSITIVITY. It goes without saying that the more we move to the right in the systems, that is, the more delicate our description becomes, the more likely we are to find contrasts, until reaching the logical end-points, where the grammar becomes lexis. At such level, that is, that of logical end-points and lexical realizations, is where we can expect to find plenty of differences between both languages concerning the precise

semantic range of equivalent Processes. That would be the goal of a lexico-logical study and will therefore not be dealt with here.[27]

3.5.2 Contrasts in mental TRANSITIVITY

As said above, Spanish mental systems show a much greater deal of ergativ-ity than English mental systems. Whereas a good number of Spanish mental processes are ergative, as we saw in the description of this area of Spanish lexicogrammar, it is hard to find ergative traces in English mental lexico-grammar. Ergative mental processes in Spanish are found, as already dis-cussed, within the emotive and cognitive subtypes, as illustrated by the pairs (303a, b) and (304a, b), respectively. In English, on the other hand, the only verb clearly involved in ergative mental processes we have been able to find in our thorough scrutiny of the BNC is *worry*, as in the pair (305a, b). To this we could add *hurt*, with the proviso that some of its uses are more likely to have both middle and effective versions than others. Thus, next to unproblematic pairs such as (306a, b), there are effective uses such as (307a), where middle versions like (307b) are arguably more marginal. In fact, no such kind of middle process, or similar, was found in the BNC. It looks as if the verb *hurt*, in the metaphorical extension from its material use as in (308a, b), where it is completely ergative, had temporarily left part of its ergative load on the way.[28] We say *temporarily* because searches on Inter-net do get results – hundreds of them, in fact – for the string 'my feelings were hurting', which shows – with all the reserves that one must have when using the Net as a reference – that *hurt*, in its mental meaning, is on its way to becoming completely ergative.

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and pseudo-effective

(303a) *los sacerdotes*   *no nos asustamos*   *del mal*
        the priests   don't fear   of evil
        Se/Me   Process   Quasi-Inducer
        'us priests don't fear evil'

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and effective

(303b) *le*   *asustó*   *su conducta*
        him   frightened his behaviour
        Se/Me   Process   Ind/Ag
        'His behaviour frightened him'

Process: mental: cognitive and ergative and middle

(304a) *nunca*   *se persuadió*   *de lo que decía*
never   [he] persuaded   of what he said
Circ: time   Process   Circ: matter
'He was never persuaded by what he said'

Process: mental: cognitive and ergative and effective

(304b) *[ellos]*   *le*   *persuadieron, siguiendo instrucciones de Manglano*
[they]   him   persuaded   following instructions from Manglano
Ind/Ag Se/Me Process   Circ: cause
'They persuaded him, under Manglano's instructions'

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and middle

(305a) 'Elizabeth   worries   too much', said Beuno
Se/Me   Process   Circ: degree

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and effective

(305b) It's   getting the steam roller up that   worries   me
         Ph/Ag   Process   Se/Me

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and middle

(306a) I   was hurting, so I hit out at you
     Se/Me   Process

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and effective

(306b) I   wanted to hurt   her   as   she   hurt   me
     Ind/Ag Process   Se/Me   Ind/Ag Process Se/Me

Process: mental: emotive and ergative? and middle

(307a) He   hurt   my feelings
     ?Ind/Ag Process   Se/Me

Process: mental: emotive and ergative? and effective

(307b) ?my feelings   were hurting
     Se/Me   Process

Process: material and ergative and middle

(308a) Charlie Paceley was the first to reach me after I was hit. He tried so
hard to help   me while **I**   **was hurting** in the hours it took
                                          to reach England
                        Ac/Me Process

(308b)	But	the spikes	didn't hurt	me
		Ins/Ag	Process	Af/Me

Having established a clear contrast at the most general level, let us now look at more delicate contrasts. A classic source of cross-linguistic confusion is found within emotive mental TRANSITIVITY, notably concerning the expression of liking. We saw in section 3.3.2.1 that the bidirectionality that characterizes these processes is undermined to some extent in Spanish due to the fact that both pseudo-effective and effective realizations tend to reflect a Senser → Phenomenon sequencing, as again illustrated by (309, 310). This contrasts with the way in which the bidirectionality brings about a change from Senser → Phenomenon to Phenomenon → Senser sequencing in English when moving from a pseudo-effective to an effective emotive mental process, as illustrated by (311, 312). As we see in (310), Spanish favours the thematization of the Senser (see Chapter 5), which pushes the Phenomenon to post-verbal position even if this is the Subject, that is, if the process is effective.[29] As the Subject position is grammaticalized in English, that is, its unmarked position in statements in pre-verbal, the Subject Phenomenon is thematized and the Senser goes after the Process. As said above, this contrast is a source of not little confusion for Spanish EFL learners or vice versa; the explanation here provided should help to understand this issue better. In addition, it should be reminded that *like*-type processes used to have the same directionality in Middle English as they have in Spanish now. Thus, a process like (311) would have been expressed as *Me like the idea of* . . . (see Tejada Caller [1999] for an explanation of how and why the directionality of this kind of processes changed).

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and pseudo-effective; phenomenal

(309)	*Los niños*	*disfrutaron*	*el espectáculo*
	The children	enjoyed	the show
	Se/Me	Process	Ph/Ra

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and effective; phenomenal

(310)	*Les*	*gustó*	*el espectáculo*
	them	pleased	the show
	Se/Me	Process	Ph/Ag

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and pseudo-effective; phenomenal

(311)	I	personally	like	the idea of meetings like this
	Se/Me		Process	Ph/Ra

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and effective; phenomenal

(312) Your work   pleases   me
       Ph/Ag   Process   Se/Me

Another important area of contrast is found in the realizations of meta-phenomenality, that is, when the Phenomenon is a finite clause rather than a nominal group. Examples (313–319) reproduce the processes seen in section 3.3.2 as illustrations of the different combinations of mental process types and metaphenomena. For our contrastive purposes, we have selected those processes with divergent, that is, different, subject in the primary and the secondary clause; also, macrophenomena – that is, non-finite Phenomena in perceptive processes – have been left out, as no cross-linguistic contrast exists there. As we can see, cognitive (313–315) and perceptive (316) mental processes select in Spanish the Indicative to express the Metaphenomenon, while intentional (317) and emotive (318, 319) processes select the Subjunctive. As (320–323) show, English coincides with Spanish in the kind of phenomenality and the mood for cognitive (320) and perceptive (321) processes: idea the former, fact the latter, both in the Indicative mood. However, both languages differ in the realizations of the metaphenomena in intentional and emotive processes. Where Spanish selects the Subjunctive for ideas in intentional processes, English selects the Infinitive (322), thus resembling a macrophenomenon; where Spanish selects the Subjunctive for facts in emotive processes, English chooses the Indicative (323).

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and middle;
metaphenomenon: idea

(313) *ella*   *creía*   *que yo estaba muerto*
      She   believed   that I was dead
      Se/Me Process   →   β (idea)
      'She thought I was dead'

Process: mental: cognitive and ergative and middle

(314) *al poco tiempo*   *me convencí*   *de que era demasiado tarde*
      in little time   [I] convinced   that it was too late
      Circ: time   Process   →   β (idea)
      'Soon after, I persuaded myself that it was too late'

Process: mental: cognitive and ergative and effective

(315)   *el Partido   me   convenció   de que era importante para el Movimiento*
        the Party   me   convinced   of that it was important for the Movement
        Ind/Ag   Se/Me   Process   →   β (idea)
        'The Party convinced me that it was important for the Movement'

Process: mental: perceptive and transitive and pseudo-effective; metaphe-nomenon: fact

(316)   *ya*   *veo*   *que no estás*
        already   see   that you're not
        Circ: time   Process   Ph/Ra
        'I can see you're not there'

Process: mental: intentional and transitive and middle; metaphenomenon: idea

(317)   *el pueblo*   *quiere*   *que usted ceda la corona ya*
        the people   wants   that you give up your crown already
        Se/Me   Process   →   β (idea)
        'The people want you to give up your crown now'

Process: mental: emotive and transitive and effective; metaphenomenon: fact

(318)   *A mí*   *no*   *me*   *gusta*   *que me manden*
        To me   not   me   like   that they instruct me
        Se/   Pro-   /Me   -cess   Ph/Ag
        'I don't like receiving orders'

Process: mental: emotive and ergative and effective; metaphenomenon: fact

(319)   *Me*   *alegra*   *que la cosa no tenga más consecuencias*
        Me   pleases   that the affair has no further consequences
        Se/Me   Process   Ph/Ag
        'it pleases me that the affair has no further consequences'

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and middle; metaphenomenon: idea

(320)   They   thought   they were untouchable
        Se/Me   Process   →   β (idea)

**Process: mental: perceptive and transitive and pseudo-effective;
metaphenomenon: fact**

(321) I   can see   where everyone's coming from
      Se/Me   Process   Ph/Ra

**Process: mental: intentional and transitive and middle;
metaphenomenon: idea**

(322) we   just   wanted   him to pass out
      Se/Me   Process   →   β (idea)

**Process: mental: emotive and ergative and effective;
metaphenomenon: fact**

(323) It   worried   me   that I had reacted as I had
          Process   Se/Me   Ph/Ag

We move now to lexical questions, namely concerning perceptive and cognitive processes. According to Matthiessen (1995a: 268) there are different lexical realizations within these two mental types to express phase or duration. Examples (324–326) include verbs which are semantically richer synonyms of *see*, whereas (327) is equivalent to *know* with a specification of phase. English shows here a wider lexical choice than Spanish, where these finer-grained meanings are often expressed through periphrasis, as illustrated by *ver fugazmente* ('glimpse') in (328) and *darse cuenta* ('realize') in (329).

Process: mental: cognitive and phased

(324) I **glimpsed** you as I fell

(325) She **sighted** down the barrel

(326) And then they **spotted** the Tunisian pedlar

(327) he then **realized** she was only wearing a black sporran

Process: mental: cognitive; phase through periphrasis

(328) *Al otro lado, por una puerta entreabierta, **vio fugazmente** a los tres caballeros estables*
     'On the other side, through an ajar door, (s)he spotted the three gentlemen'

(329)   *Entonces, ahí me **di cuenta** de que algo fallaba*
       'I then realized something was wrong'

    Continuing with cognitive processes, there is also a difference between the way these may in English project infinitival intensive relational processes such as (330, 331) and the impossibility of doing so in Spanish, where only a finite clause such as (332) or (333) can be projected. Note how the English constructions (330, 331) are pseudo-effective, as they have a participant Phenomenon in addition to the projected idea, whereas the Spanish constructions (332, 333) are middle, since what is the Phenomenon in English is part of the projected idea in Spanish. An alternative choice, shared on this occasion by both languages, consists in incorporating the projected relational clause as a constituent within the mental process, as in (334, 335).

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and pseudo-effective

(330)	people	generally		consider	me		to be a very tolerant person
	Se/Me	Circ: frequency		Process	Ph/Ra →		idea

(331)	I	had	always		thought	him		to be egotistical
	Se/Me	Pro-	Circ: frequency		-cess	Ph/Ra	→	idea

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and middle

(332)	*yo*	*considero*		*que es altamente complicada*
	I	consider		that it is highly complicated
	Se/Me	Process	→	idea

(333)	*la gente*	*piensa*		*que es su padre*
	people	think		that he is his/her father
	Se/Me	Process	→	idea

Process: mental: cognitive and transitive and pseudo-effective

(334)	I		don't consider	you		a reliable practitioner
	Se/Me		Process	Ph/Ra		At-on

(335)	*yo*	*no*	*te*	*considero*	*conservador sino tacaño!*
	I	don't	you	consider	thrifty but stingy
	Se/Me	Pro-	Ph/Ra	-cess	At-on

    The last contrast we are going to tackle concerning mental TRANSITIVITY has to do with the relational agnation of some emotive processes.

As Matthiessen states: '[an] affective [i.e. emotive] Attribute can be ascribed to a carrier that is the equivalent of a mental Phenomenon' (1995a: 278). This is good both for English and Spanish, as can be appreciated in Table 3.12, which shows emotive processes from both languages that become Attributes in relational clauses. A look at the right columns reveals that where English typically differentiates between originally middle or pseudo-effective ('of Senser') and originally effective ('of Phenomenon') Attributes, their differences being transparent, such distinction is some times blurred in Spanish, where the middle/pseudo-effective and effective meanings share the realization in Attributes such as *entretenido, divertido* (compare *amused* vs *amusing* in English), *triste* (*sad* vs *saddening* [although *sad* often impinges on the semantic space of *saddening*]), *aburrido* (*bored* vs *boring*) or *dudoso* (English opaque here, too: *doubtful*).[30] Examples (336–344) illustrate these differences, which often are a source of confusion for Spanish EFL students, unaccustomed to the distinction.

(336a) *El viaje fue muy **entretenido***
'the journey was very amusing'

(336b) *Déjalos que, al menos, así están **entretenidos***
'Leave them alone; at least they are amused/busy like that'

(337a) It was rather **amusing**

(337b) I was very **amused** at this, and insisted on showing the manager what it was

(338a) *El panorama es **triste** pero no desolador*
'The situation is saddening yet not appalling'

(338b) *Sus ojos estaban **tristes** y húmedos*
'His/her eyes were sad and watery'

(339a) To see a threat-that-was coming across as anything but a threat is **saddening**

(339b) I feel quite **sad**, and I'm going to miss him

(340) *no sólo es **aburridísimo**, sino inútil*
'It's not only very boring but also useless'

(341) *Lo que pasó es que yo estaba **aburrida** ya*
'What happened is that I was already bored'

(342a) I found it **boring**, self-conscious and a good deal sketchier than the Balzac novella on which it's based

Table 3.12   Agnation between emotive and relational processes in English (after Matthiessen 1995: 278–279) and Spanish

Mental Process		Relational Attribute	
Middle/ pseudo-effective	Effective	of Senser	of Phenomenon
[English:] *like, rejoice*	[English:] *please*	[English:] *happy, pleased (about, with)*	[English:] *pleasing*
[Spanish:] *apreciar*	[Spanish:] *gustar, agradar*	[Spanish:] *agradado, satisfecho, contento (con, de)*	[Spanish:] *agradable*
	[English:] *amuse*	[English:] *amused (at, with)*	[English:] *amusing, funny*
[Spanish:] *entretenerse, divertirse(con)*	[Spanish:] *entretener, divertir*	[Spanish:] *entretenido, divertido(con)*	[Spanish:] *divertido, entretenido*
	[English:] *interest*	[English:] *interested*	[English:] *interesting*
[Spanish:] *interesarse (por)*	[Spanish:] *interesar*	[Spanish:] *interesado*	[Spanish:] *interesante*
	[English:] *sadden*	[English:] *sad (about)*	[English:] *sad, saddening*
[Spanish:] *lamentar, sentir*	[Spanish:] *apenar, entristecer*	[Spanish:] *apenado, triste, deprimido(por)*	[Spanish:] *triste, deprimido*
[English:] *fear*	[English:] *frighten*	[English:] *afraid (of), frightened (of, about)*	[English:] *frightening*
[Spanish:] *temer*	[Spanish:] *asustar*	[Spanish:] *temeroso, asustado(de)*	[Spanish:] *temible*
	[English:] *bore*	[English:] *bored*	[English:] *boring*
[Spanish:] *aburrirse*	[Spanish:] *aburrir*	[Spanish:] *aburrido*	[Spanish:] *aburrido*
[English:] *worry*	[English:] *worry*	[English:] *worried (about)*	[English:] *worrying*
[Spanish:] *preocuparse*	[Spanish:] *preocupar*	[Spanish:] *preocupado*	[Spanish:] *preocupante*
[English:] *know*		[English:] *aware (of)*	
[Spanish:] *saber*		[Spanish:] *sabedor, consciente(de)*	
[English:] *believe*	[English:] *convince*	[English:] *convinced (of)*	[English:] *believable, convincing*
[Spanish:] *creer*	[Spanish:] *convencer*	[Spanish:] *convencido (de)*	[Spanish:] *credible, convincente*
[English:] *doubt*		[English:] *doubtful (about)*	[English:] *doubtful*
[Spanish:] *dudar*		[Spanish:] *dudoso*	[Spanish:] *dudoso*

(342b) I was simply **bored** to tears by it all

(343a) *Y si es* **dudoso** *un síntoma, es mejor no tomarlo en cuenta*
'and if a symptom is doubtful, it is better not to take it into account'

(343b) *él está* **dudoso** *o intenta desechar la idea*
'he is doubtful or ties to discard the idea'

(344a) Without a parliament, changes to Poland's budget are **doubtful**

(344b) investors tend not to deal with a new house if they are **doubtful** about its tenacity

As the examples above suggest, the middle meanings of the Attributes in Spanish tend to have *estar* as the Process, whereas the effective have *ser*. Even if this arguably helps to counterbalance the opacity of the Attribute, a verb different from *ser* o *estar* may fulfil the role of Process, in which case it is the nature of the Carrier that disambiguates the intended meaning: people are typically Sensers in the original mental process, and the resulting agnate relational is middle or pseudo-effective, whereas things are Phenomena, and therefore bring about effective relational processes.

3.5.3 Contrasts in verbal TRANSITIVITY

Looking at verbal processes now, we see that the default verb in Spanish is *decir,* regardless of whether there is a Receiver (e.g. 345) or not (e.g. 346). This is in clear contrast with English, where the presence or absence of the Receiver conditions the default verb: *tell* with Receiver (347); *say* with no Receiver (348). As is the case whenever one language has two distinct forms where other languages have only one, this represents a difficulty for speakers of the language with the single option, in this case Spanish, when speaking the language with the dual option, in this case English.

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; +Receiver

(345) *Y él* **me dijo** *que era mentira*
'And he told me it was a lie'

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; –Receiver

(346) **dijo** *que estaba satisfecho*
'he said he was satisfied'

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; +Receiver
(347) He **told me** he wasn't allowed to go nights

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; –Receiver
(348) He **said** he was a collector of antiques

English also presents more complexity than Spanish concerning the instantiation of Receivers, as these, unless realized by a clitic, are always realized in Spanish by *a*-prepositional phrases. The examples used to describe verbal transitivity in section 3.3 happened to have all of them clitic Recipients, which, as seen in (349), precede the Process (unless this is non-finite or in the Imperative, in which cases the clitic is appendixed to it, as in [350]). Examples (351, 352) show realizations of the Receiver as a prepositional phrase, in one case (351) with clitic reduplication, in the other (352) with no reduplication. As the similitude of both clauses implies, the presence or not of the reduplication does not bring about any change in meaning.

(349) *le*   *dijeron*   *que debía esperar dos días*
      him   [they] told   that he had to wait two days
      Re/Be   Process   →   β (reported locution)
      they told him that he had to wait two days

(350) *pregúntale*   *si le gusta*
      Ask-her   if (s)he likes it
      Process-Re/Be   →   β (reported locution)

(351) *Kriukov*   *le*   *dijo*   ***a su mujer***   *que se iba a Mozdok* (redup.)
      Kriukov   her   said   to his wife   that he was leaving for M.
      Sa/Me   Re/   Process   /Be   →   β (reported locution)
      'Kriukov told his wife that he was leaving for Mozdok'

(352) *y*   *dijo*   ***a su padre***   *que se lo quitase de encima* (no redup.)
      And   said   to his father   that he got rid of him
              Process   Re/Be   →   β (reported locution)
      'And he told his father to get rid of him'

If we now look at English verbal processes with a Receiver, we see that this may be realized in a number of ways. In (353, 354), for instance, it is a *to*-prepositional phrase (the closest to the realization in Spanish). Note how, conversely to Spanish, prepositional Receivers in English do not receive

a special treatment; in (355) the Receiver is a Nominal Group; in (356), an *of*-prepositional phrase. It is obvious that the different verbs employed in these examples have much to do with the different realizations of the Receiver; yet, if we look at Spanish examples with different kinds of verbal Processes, as (357–359), the realization of the Receiver remains the same, that is *a*-prepositional phrases.

(353) 'Lock the door behind me!' he said   **to his wife**

(354) 'My old friend, my youth', he wrote **to her** afterwards

(355) He asked **his Chairman** a private chat

(356) 'Did that f***** Bellybutton bring Starkisser back?' McIllvanney suddenly demanded **of me** in his sour Belfast accent

(357) *y preguntó **a su vecino**: '¿Quién nos va a sacar de acá?'*

       'And he asked his neighbour: "who's going to get us out of here?"'

(358) *. . . el caso de un gallego que escribió **a su madre**: 'Gracias a Dios he logrado uno de los mejores empleos de Madrid'*
       '. . . the story of a "gallego" who wrote to his mother: "thank God I've found one of the best jobs in Madrid"'

(359) *con su recia voz reclamó **a su hija***
       'With his strong voice, he called after his daughter'

When looking at contrasts within mental TRANSITIVITY, we delved into the different realizations of metaphenomena. A similar area of contrast presents itself within verbal TRANSITIVITY regarding the projection of locutions. The commonalities and differences between English and Spanish in the projection of statements, questions, offers and commands were already described in Chapter 2 and we will therefore not devote too many lines to that issue here. Simply as a reminder, examples (360–365) illustrate that Spanish prototypically uses the Indicative in projected statements (360) – unless the projecting and the projected clauses have the same Subject (361) – and questions (362, 363), the Infinitive in offers (364) and the Subjunctive in commands (365), whereas (366–369) show how English coincides with Spanish in the selection of Indicative for statements and questions, and the Infinitive for offers, but differs in the grammar of commands, where also the Infinitive is selected.

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; statement

(360) *les dijeron que no había habitaciones disponibles*
'they were told there were no rooms available'

(361) *Los acusados admitieron haber incinerado el cuerpo*
'The defendants admitted having incinerated the body'

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; question

(362) *le preguntaron si había estado en Cuba alguna vez*
'they asked him if he had ever been to Cuba'

(363) *Ella misma les explicó cómo tenían que ir a su casa*
'She herself explained how they were supposed to go to her place'

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; offer

(364) *Él se ofreció a acompañarla a casa*
'He offered to accompany her home'

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; command

(365) *Entonces le ordenó que lo escuchara con cuidado*
'He then ordered him to listen carefully'

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; statement

(366) they were told there were four people inside the burning house

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; question

(367) Anyway I asked her if she'd heard from your dad

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; offer

(368) I offered to bring her back again

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; command

(369) She ordered them to make a tiny boat with sails

Projected statements present an additional contrast originating in a point in common: both languages have relational alternatives for these constructions, as illustrated by the pairs (370a, b) for English and (371a, b) for Spanish, where the same verbs projecting a statement in the verbal (a) versions, partake in a relational process with an Attribute in (b). The difference resides in the fact that English offers an additional possibility, namely

the expression of the Attribute as a role Circumstance – in which case the process falls more towards the verbal than the relational side. Such is the realization in (372), which is alien to Spanish. Note how we analyse (372) as effective, with the target of the report as, precisely, Target.

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; statement

(370a) They   reported   **that recalled birth weight was accurate** to
                          within 100 g in three quarters of case
       Sa/Me   Process → reported locution

Process: relational and attributive and transitive and effective and intensive

(370b) he did not return either, and   was **reported**   **dead**
                                      Process   At/Ra

Process: verbal: transitive and middle; statement

(371a) *Jordi Bisbe, director de Costaisa, declaró   que la utilización del Sipap es*
                                            factible desde la propia
                                            habitación del enfermo

       Jordi Bisbe, Costaisa's chief,   reported that the use of Sipap in the
                                        patient's room is feasible
       Sa/Me   Process → projected locution

Process: relational and attributive and transitive and intensive

(371b) *lo   declararon   demente   y nunca más salió*
       him   (they) declared   insane   and never again came out
       Ca/Me   Process   At/Ra
       'They reported him insane and he never again came out'

Process: verbal: transitive and effective; statement

(372) the situation on all Soviet borders with
           eastern Europe   was **reported**   **as normal**
       Ta/Me   Process   Circ: role

3.5.4 Contrasts in relational TRANSITIVITY

Within relational TRANSITIVITY we have to speak again about the transitive/ergative distinction and how this compares in both languages. For the most part, ergative processes in one language have a corresponding process in the other, as is the case with Spanish (373, 374) and English (375, 376).

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and ergative and middle

(373) *Juan* *se volvió* *tonto*
   Juan   became silly
   At-ed/Me Process At-on

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and ergative and effective

(374) *Usted* *me*   *vuelve* *loco*
   You   me   turn   crazy
   At-or/Ag At-ed/Me Process At-on
   'You drive me crazy'

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and ergative and middle

(375) Her finger tips turned white as bone
   At-ed/Me   Process At-on

Process: relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and ergative and effective

(376) A flash of light turned everything white
   At-or/Ag   Process At-ed/Me At-on

There are a few cases, however, in which equivalent English and Spanish processes have different constellations regarding the transitive/ergative distinction. If we take, for example, the English relational process (378), which has a perfect match in Spanish (380), we may be led to assume that this process behaves similarly in both languages. Yet if we try to find approximate middle versions for the effective process in (378), we realize that whereas there is no such realization as *He calls Danny* in English, Spanish does have middle realizations such as (379). In order to get a semantically related middle version of a process like (378), we need to resort to a change in the lexical realization of the verb functioning as Process, as seen in (377). This means that English (377, 378) are transitive while the Spanish counterparts (379, 380) are ergative.

Process: relational: attributive and transitive and pseudo-effective

(377) His name is   Bruce
   Ca/Me Process At/Ra

Process: relational: attributive and transitive and effective

(378)	They	call	him	Danny
	At-or/Ag	Process	Ca/Me	At/Ra

Process: relational: attributive and ergative and middle

(379)	*Este pueblecito*	*se llama*	*Klun-Klun*
	This village	is called	Klun-Klun
	At-ed/Me	Process	At-on

Process: relational: attributive and ergative and effective

(380)	*¿Por qué*	*lo*	*llaman*	*'caudillo'*?
	Why	him	(they) call	'caudillo'?
	Circ: reason	At-ed/Me	Process	At-on

'Why do they call him "caudillo"?'

Discussing verbal contrasts, we saw that English has two default realizations, *say* and *tell*, where Spanish has only *decir*. In relational TRANSITIVITY we find the reverse situation: where English has *be* as its prototypical realization, Spanish is known for its *ser* versus *estar* opposition. Arús and Lavid (2001) treat this contrast in detail, so we are here simply going to show examples illustrating this contrast and pinpoint the semantic specificities of the two realizations in Spanish which are syncretized into a single realization in English. The semantic scope of *ser* is much larger than that of *estar*, so the most straightforward way to proceed is by identifying those areas of the lexicogrammar pertaining to the domain of *estar*.

The first area of relational TRANSITIVITY where both realizations can be found in Spanish is that of transitive intensive attributive processes. Let us compare the English example (381) with Spanish examples (382, 383). The English process in (381) could, out of context, refer either to *Lisa*'s belonging to the class of fat people or to her present state, hence the dual classification 'class/state' for this use of *be*. In Spanish, on the other hand, we see that 'class' is realized by *ser*, as in (382), whereas 'state' is realized by *estar*, as in (383).

Relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and transitive and pseudo-effective: non-phase: class/state

(381) Well Lisa **is** fat actually

Relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and transitive and pseudo-effective: non-phase: class

(382) *Macías **es** gordo*
        'Macías is fat'

Relational: expanding: attributive and intensive and transitive and pseudo-effective: non-phase: state

(383) *Hablan de que Ronaldo **está** gordo*
        'They say Ronaldo is fat'

The second area where both realizations can be found is again among transitive attributive processes, but on this occasion not intensive but circumstantial. We see now that where English, again, uses *be*, Spanish selects *estar* for those processes in which the Carrier whose location is discussed is material, that is, a thing, an animal or a person (*José Antonio* in [385]), and *ser* for spatial processes whose Carrier is an event, for example, *una fiesta*, as in (387).

Relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective: circumstance as participant: spatial: matter

(384) Burgess **is** at home

(385) *José Antonio **está** en casa*
        'José Antonio is at home'

Relational: expanding: attributive and circumstantial and transitive and pseudo-effective: circumstance as participant: spatial: event

(386) the party **is** at Joanie's house

(387) *la fiesta **fue** en la escuela La Salle*
        'the party was at La Salle school'

The contrasts just described concern intensive and circumstantial relational processes. To finish the contrast of relational TRANSITIVITY, we now comment on a contrast concerning possessive relational processes, notably the realization of possession as participant (rather than as process, that is, *have/tener*). As shown in (388, 389) and (390), the instantiation of the clause is very similar in both languages, with a Possessed ^ Process ^ Possessor sequence in unmarked cases. However, the way in which the Possessor is instantiated in each language is very different, as Spanish chooses

a *de*-prepositional phrase where English has Saxon Genitive, a feature alien to the Spanish language. As we can see, the prepositional phrase in Spanish may be preceded by an article (389) or not (388) to express whether the process is attributive or identifying.[31] English, on the other hand, does not explicitly manifest such distinction with the Saxon Genitive, and a process such as (390) could in principle be attributive or identifying. In this particular case, however, the use of *they* seems to favour an attributive interpretation, which would have been less clear had the Possessed been realized by a determiner such as *those.*

Relational: expanding: attributive and possessive and transitive and pseudo-effective: possessed as participant

(388)	*Ésa*	*era*	*de mi abuelo*
	That one	was	my grandfather's
	Ca/Me	Process	At/Ra

Relational: expanding: identifying and possessive and transitive and effective: possessed as participant

(389)	*Sí,*	*ésa*	*era*	*la de mi abuela*
	Yes	that one	was	my grandmother's
		To/Ag	Process	Va/Me

Relational: expanding: attributive and possessive and transitive and pseudo-effective (or identifying and possessive and transitive and effective): possessed as participant

(390)	They	are	Amy's
	Ca/Me	Process	At/Ra

When the Possessor is realized by a personal pronoun, both languages behave similarly in the case of an attributive meaning, as in (391, 392). When the process is identifying, however, the same contrast applies as above. Thus, Spanish adds the article, as in (393), whereas the English realization remains the same.

Relational: expanding: attributive and possessive and transitive and pseudo-effective: possessed as participant

(391)	*de las cuatro, tres*	*eran*	*mías*
	Out of the four, three	were	mine
	Ca/Me		Process	At/Ra

Relational: expanding: attributive and possessive and transitive and pseudo-effective (or identifying and possessive and transitive and effective): possessed as participant

(392)   Their clothes and belongings   are   ours
        Ca/Me or To/Ag   Process   At/Ra or Va/Me

Relational: expanding: identifying and possessive and transitive and effective: possessed as participant

(393)   *¡Las rojas y las amarillas   son   las mías!*
        The red ones and the yellow ones   are   mine!
        To/Ag   Process   Va/Me

3.5.5 Contrasts in circumstantial TRANSITIVITY

This last contrastive section looks at circumstances, keeping in mind that in this chapter we deal with circumstances as simple-clause constituents. Alternatively, circumstantial meanings may be brought about by secondary clauses in clause complexes. These have been already discussed in Chapter 2, namely in the description of contrasts within hypotactic enhancement, which is where circumstantial secondary clauses are found.

A first important distinction between English and Spanish circumstances is that only the former can be the Subject of a clause, as illustrated by (394, 395). This is due to the need, in English, to respect the Subject ^ Finite order in statements, which makes that all participants, whether nuclear or circumstantial, have the potentiality for becoming Subjects. Spanish, on the other hand, is less restrictive regarding the Subject position (see Chapter 5) and therefore has no need for participants such as Beneficiaries or circumstances to become Subjects. In (396) we show how Spanish deals with a structure such as English (395).

Circumstance as Subject

(394)   **The money**   has   already   been agreed   **on**
        Circ: Pro-   Circ: time -cess   : matter
(395)   **Sergei's bed**   hadn't been slept   **in**
        Circ: Process   : place

Circumstance as Theme (starting element) but not Subject

(396)   *En esa cama*   *solo*   *se han acostado hombres de pelo en pecho*
        In that bed   only   have lain   fur-chested guys
        Circ: place   Circ: degree   Process   Ac/Me
        'That bed has only been slept in by tough guys'

What the next pair of examples shows is something that we already saw happening at clause-complexing level: the existence of a preposition in one language does not presuppose the existence of a preposition in the other. Within clause complexing we saw that implied that one language may have a prepositional enhancing nexus where the other has no nexus, as in *by* + Gerund in English (e.g. 397) versus only gerundival clause in Spanish (e.g. 398) for hypotactic enhancing manner: means). Within TRANSITIVITY the implication is that where a language has a circumstance the other may have a participant, as in the case in Spanish (399) versus English (400).

Hypotaxis and expansion: enhancement: manner: means; secondary clause non-finite

(397) then   work   our way back   into the safe waters of the Cherwell
      Circ: time Process   Go/Me   Circ: place
      by pulling on the branches of the shrubs and trees that overhung the river
      Circ: manner

(398) *Elija*   *el dato que desea cambiar*   ***apretando** el botón MODE*
      Choose   the data you wish to change   pressing the MODE button
      Process   Ph/Ra   Circ: manner: means
      'Choose the data you wish to change by pressing the MODE button'

Process: material and transitive and middle

(399) *Una mujer y una chica*   *entraron*   ***en la sala***
      One woman and a girl   entered   into the room
      Ac/Me   Process   Circ: place

Process: material and transitive and pseudo-effective

(400) Caroline   entered   **the room**,   followed by Godfrey
      Ac/Me   Process   Sc/Ra

Another fruitful area of contrast is that concerning those processes that may have either a Circumstance or a Process that has the circumstantial meaning lexicalized. Matthiessen (1995a) mentions English pairs such as *go up: ascend, go down: descend* which we illustrate through corpus examples (401–404). As is often the case in English, the more colloquial option (401, 402) is the English autochthon whereas the more formal is of Latin origin (usually borrowed via Norman French). As we see in (405–406), Spanish is less prone to such alternation, and the synthetic version is the

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one used in everyday language. It is often the case, however, that verbs become delexicalized over time, and the need is felt for the reinforcement of the circumstantial meaning by the addition of a circumstance, as (407, 408) reflect.

Circumstantial meaning as circumstance

(401) So   they   went   **up there**   and did that
                Ac/Me   Process   Circ: place

(402) they   went   **down**   in the lift together
       Ac/Me   Process   Circ: place   Circ: place

Circumstantial meaning lexicalized in Process

(403) Foot by foot   she   **ascended**
       Circ: manner   Ac/Me   Process

(404) they   **descended**   for breakfast
       Ac/Me   Process   Circ: purpose

Circumstantial meaning lexicalized in Process

(405) *después*   **subieron**   *hasta México*
       Then   (they) ascended   as far as Mexico
       Circ: time   Process   Circ: place
       'They then went up to Mexico'

(406) **Bajé,**   **entré**   *y me interesé por lo que hacían*
       (I) descended   went in and took interest in what they were doing
       Process   Process
       'I went down, came in and took interest in what they were doing'

(407) *Ahorita*   **subimos**   *arriba*
       Now   (we) ascend   up
       Circ: time   Process   Circ: place
       'We'll be coming up right away'

(408) **bajad**   **abajo**   *a ver si hay una señora ahí*
       Descend   down   to see if there's a lady there
       Process   Circ: place   Circ: purpose
       'go down and see if there's a lady there'

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 271), Clients and circumstances of behalf differ in that only the former may be expressed without a preposition, as we can see by comparing their examples (409a, b) and

(410a, b). In Spanish the difference is manifested through the use of the preposition *para* with the Clinet (e.g. 411) and *por* with the Circumstance, as in (412).

Process with Client

(409a)	She	built	a new house	for her children
	Ac/Ag	Process	Go/Me	Cl/Be

(409b)	She	built	her children	a new house
	Ac/Ag	Process	Cl/Be	Go/Me

Process with Circumstance: cause: behalf

(410a)	She	gave up	her job	for her children
	Ac/Ag	Process	Go/Me	Circ: cause: behalf

(410b) *She gave her children up her new job

(411)	*Desea*	*lo mejor*	*para sus hijos*
	(she) wishes	the best	for her children
	Process	Ph/Ra	Be/Be

(412)	*La madre Aries*	*lucha*	*por sus hijos*	*dándoles lo mejor*
	Mother Aries	fights	for her children	giving them the best
	Ac/Me		Process	Circ: cause: behalf	Circ: manner: means

3.6 Summary

In this chapter we have provided a thorough description of the systems of Spanish NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY and CIRCUMSTANTIAL TRANSI-TIVITY. Within the former, we have seen that the transitive and the ergative systems represent two different ways of construing experience, with characteristics specific to each one of them and which are observable across process types, with the only exception of verbal processes, which are all of them transitive. The categories borrowed from general SF theory, notably as presented in *IFG* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), plus those created for complementing the model have proved adequate for a comprehensive description and analysis of the nuclear transitivity of Spanish. The contrastive section – where, as in the preceding descriptive section, we have proceeded process type by process type, followed by circumstances – has sought to shed light on those aspects of nuclear and circumstantial transitivity where Spanish, English or both, show specificities.

Notes

[1] See section 3.3 for a discussion of participants.

[2] Davidse actually uses the term *Range*, following the typical nomenclature used for that participant function, including the first two editions of *IFG*. We are replacing *Range* with *Scope*, following Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2004), so as to avoid the potential terminological confusion that may arise from using the same term for a process-specific participant function and a participant function in the general system, which, as we will see, cuts across all process types.

[3] This does not mean they will never be possible realizations, mostly (7b). As Halliday (1994) points out, English has a tendency to become more and more ergative, which could result in a process like (7b) becoming acceptable in standard English, in a similar fashion to what is the case with processes such as *She's walking the dog*, nowadays.

[4] The RAE (1986: 383) calls these 'verbos unipersonales' ('one-person verbs') because they are always realized in the third-person singular and it is very hard to personify a subject different from the event itself.

[5] The (a) realizations are from the CREA corpus, the (b) realizations have been created *ad hoc.*

[6] This is not a cut-and-dry rule, though. As the RAE (1986: 372–373) points out, the use of the preposition *a* before animate Complements is a tendency in Modern Age Spanish, still in evolution and with a number of exceptions.

[7] We hedge our claim about middle transitive processes by means of 'tend to be' because some of them – notably those of the meteorological type, such as (18), and some of the cognate object type, such as (26) – seem to answer a question of the sort *what happened?*, characteristic of creative processes. This question as well as the ones that follow in our discussion are proposed by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 184).

[8] *What did they do?* is also the question for most transformative middle (and pseudo-effective) processes, as in *Se escapó* (he ran away) or the vast majority of the middle structures illustrated in this section, with the exceptions expressed in note 4.

[9] Cano Aguilar (1981: 308) also comments on structures such as *Darle a alguien* (lit. 'give someone', that is, hit someone), originated in the omission of a Direct Object.

[10] Incidentally, the English equivalent of (45), as shown in the translation provided, is an ergative process, since *trip* can be the Process of a middle or an effective construction. Notice that the English translation of the middle (43) could admit *trip* instead of *stumble.*

[11] See Arús (2006) for an account of the correspondence between the traditional middle constructions and *se*-construction from a systemic perspective.

[12] The practically identical functional role of *se*-impersonal and *se*-passive constructions may call for the labelling of passive *se* as IMP rather than PASS as in (55). However, given the alluded differences in terms of the grammatical number associated with each construction, we have opted for a distinct analysis of each *se.* This clitic often receives the general label REFL, mostly in the literature written in English, regardless of its function, which in fact reflects the reflexive origins of all the different kinds of *se* existing at present. According to Monge (2002), Latin

reflexive forms gradually delexicalized until they finally merged with different verbs, which acquired a middle meaning. Later on, further evolution from the middle meaning resulted in the passive and, finally, in the impersonal uses. We think, however, that our description should be as fine-grained as possible, mostly when dealing with such an important aspect of Spanish lexicogrammar, hence the different decision to assign different labels to the different uses of *se*.

[13] *Transitive* in the traditional sense, that is, susceptible of having a Direct Object.

[14] Except for the archaic form *gustar de* (lit. 'like of', as in 'approve of'), which is currently circumscribed to specific areas in Latin America, meaning something like *apetecer* ('fancy', 'would like'), as in (a) *¿Gusta de un café?* ('do you fancy/ would you like a coffee?'). Cano Aguilar (1981: 337–338) points out the exception (b) *Haz lo que gustes* ('do as you please'), which is a set expression (as is in English the equivalent in meaning 'suit yourself'). Cano Aguilar also refers to the fact that *gustar* constructions have different semantic and syntactic schemes.

[15] Once again we have to refer the reader to Chapter 4 for an account of the role of thematic functions in the clause. Concerning Subject-drop in Spanish, the issue is expounded in Arús (in press).

[16] See also the explanation of propositions and proposals given in Chapter 2, concerning the interpersonal role of language.

[17] According to Halliday and Matthiessen, '[the] combination . . . of a mental process with "quoting", is . . . considerably more restricted [than the combination of a verbal process with "quoting"]' (2004: 456).

[18] We take the division of relational processes into 'existential' and 'expanding', as well as the general labelling of relational subsystems as shown in Figure 3.7, from Matthiessen (1995: 297).

[19] For an easy and correct interpretation of the examples in Tables 3.4 and 3.5, one should think of the questions and answers included in them as referring to an actor and the role he plays (as is obvious in Table 3.4).

[20] Other authors, such as the RAE and Alarcos Llorach, also comment on the possibility of pronominalizing the Attribute. The RAE (1986: 425) gives the example (a) *Creí que Isabel estaba enferma, pero no **lo** estaba*, whereas Alarcos Llorach (1987: 205) illustrates this point by means of (b) *Parece inteligente pero no **lo** es* (emphasis added to both examples).

[21] Alcina and Blecua (1982: 960–963) say that these non-relational Attributes are adjacent to and dependent on a noun. This is particularly easy to see when the Attribute refers to a Complement rather than to the Subject, as in *se le veía cansado* ('one could see he was tired', lit. 'one him saw tired'), where the pronominalization of the Attribute is less welcomed. Conversely, we are seeing that the Attribution is adjacent to and dependent on a verb.

[22] In the section on circumstantial TRANSITIVITY we will see the difference between [Beneficiary]: *para mí* and [Circumstance: behalf:] *por mí*.

[23] See section 3.4.2, above, for an explanation of why elements such as *un padre* are analysed as Attribution (and, therefore, have no function in the general system).

[24] Note that all examples (12–15) are Agentless, as they have a Scope and are, therefore, pseudo-effective; hence our speaking of *Actorless*, not *Agentless*, clauses.

[25] The Process and the clitic form a single, non-hyphenated word; the hyphen is used in the examples for purposes of analysis.

[26] See Alcina and Blecua (1982: 960–963); RAE (1986: 408) for what have tradition-ally been known as *Complemento Predicativo Objetivo* and *Complemento Predicativo Subjetivo.*

[27] See Hasan (1987) for examples of logical end-points in processes of disposal in English, and Arús (2007) for an English/Spanish comparison of that delicate area.

[28] The fact that the Senser in (62) is non-human is in part to blame for the problem-atic nature of this specific realization. In fact, it could even be argued that having *my feelings* as a Complement in the effective version removes the mental load from the verb and takes the process closer to its material origins, whereas the middle version is harder to relate to either the material or the mental paradigm, staying is a no man's land of sorts.

[29] Spanish is nearly as much of an OVS as an SVO language (and definitely more of a VS than an SV). See López Meirama (1997) for a detailed account of how factors such as volition, animacy and determinacy condition the position of the Subject in Spanish. For an explanation in the same line within SF theory, see Arús (2004b).

[30] All Spanish Attributes are subject to inflection for number and gender, as exam-ples (91–98) show.

[31] Not all identifying, though, as there are many different combinations of variables within these. See, for example, Davidse (1996) for a thorough description and discussion of the eight-cell paradigm in identifying relational processes. The specific meaning expressed by (y) would be as a response to a question such as . . . In other cases, however, the attributive and the identifying meanings are syncretized in the same realization, as illustrated by *La ciudad es de todos* in section 3.3.4.1.

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Julia Lavid, Jorge Arús and Juan Rafael Zamorano-Mansilla

Notations and symbols

1 Morphological notations

1p	first-person plural
1s	first-person singular
2p	second-person plural
2s	second-person singular
3p	third-person plural
3s	third-person singular
Ac	Actor
accomp	accompaniment
ACCUS.	Accusative
Af	Affected
Ag	Agent
Ag2	Secondary Agent
As-er	Assigner
At	Attribute
At-ed	Attributed
At-on	Attribution
At-or	Attributor
Be	Beneficiary
C	Conditional tense (*Condicional*)
Ca	Carrier
Circ	Circumstance
Cl	Client
C-NF	Completive New Focus
cont	Contingency
DAT	Dative
Ex	Existent
ext	extension
F	Future tense (*Futuro de Indicativo*)
F-pf	Future Perfect (*Futuro Perfecto*)
Go	Goal

GoingTo	Going-to Future
Id	Identified
IMP	Imperative (*Imperativo*)
Ind	Inducer
Indi	Indicative
Inf	Infinitive (*Infinitivo*)
Ins	Instigator
interp.	Interpersonal
Interp. Theme	Interpersonal Theme
IQ	implied question
Ir	Identifier
lit.	literally
loc	location
Me	Medium
NP	Noun Phrase
PASS	Passive voice
Ph	Phenomenon
P-ipfv	Imperfective Past tense (*Pretérito Imperfecto*)
pl	plural
P-pf	Past Perfect (*Pretérito Pluscuamperfecto*)
P-pfv	Perfective Past tense (*Pretérito Indefinido*)
Pr	Present tense (*Presente*)
Prog	Progressive
Pron.	Pronominal
Pr-pf	Present Perfect (*Pretérito Perfecto*)
Ps-Ins	Pseudo-Instigator
Q-NF	Questioning New Focus
Ra	Range
Re	Recipient
redup.	reduplication
REFL	Reflexive
Sa	Sayer
Sco	Scope
Se	Senser
sg	singular
Subj	Subjunctive mode (*modo Subjuntivo*)
Ta	Target
To	Token
Va	Value
Ve	Verbiage

2 Systemic notations

/	conflation
+	insertion
:	preselection (and realization)
^	ordering
…	partition
:::	inflection

3 Structural notation

α	and other lower case Greek alphabet: hypotaxis
1	and other Arabic numerals: parataxis
→	interdependency relation
Actor	and other terms with initial capitals: names of function
MOOD	and other terms in all upper cases: names of system

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Chapter 4

Interpersonal grammar

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3 we discussed the experiential metafunction, which is concerned with our interpretation and representation of experience. Here we focus our attention on those resources that enable us to establish and maintain communicative interactions by defining crucial aspects of an exchange, such as the purpose of the interaction and the relation between the participants taking part in it. All these resources reflect what is known in SF theory as the interpersonal metafunction of language.[1]

The central system in the realization of the interpersonal metafunction is MOOD, which covers those lexicogrammatical resources which signal different types of interaction between interlocutors in an exchange. The essential parameters which take part in an interactive exchange are the following:

(i) The *purpose of the exchange.* Here it is possible to distinguish two main purposes: either the speaker intends to obtain something from the addressee or s/he intends to give something to the addressee. For instance, in a statement like *Sydney is not the capital of Australia* the speaker is providing the addressee with information, whereas in a question like *What's the capital of Australia?* s/he is trying to obtain some information from the addressee.

(ii) The *object involved in the exchange.* In any linguistic interaction two kinds of commodity can be exchanged: information or goods-and-services. As explained in the previous paragraph, statements and questions have the purpose of providing and obtaining information respectively. Alternatively, in commands and offers the speaker is either offering to do something for the addressee or s/he is trying to affect the addressee's behaviour. This parameter divides utterances into two groups: those that contain a proposition (involving information) and those that contain a proposal (involving goods-and-services).

(iii) The *structural function of the utterance* in the exchange. This parameter defines how the interlocutors' contributions complement each other to compose a normal dialogue. Although there are some types of virtually one-way communication, in most cases the participants in an exchange take turns adopting the roles of speaker and addressee alternatively. This alternation is not a mere sequential organization where the interlocutors wait for their turn to deliver their message. Rather, the contributions made by the interlocutors tend to be grouped into pairs forming a unit of higher order. Such pairs consist of an initiating move and a responding move. Questions, commands, offers and statements are used to initiate a pair. Other utterances are only used to complete the initiating moves by showing the addressee's reaction to the speaker's contribution. For instance, the initiating move *Are you OK?* demands an appropriate responding move such as *Yes, I am* or *No, not really.*

(iv) The *sense of the responding move.* We have seen that a responding move completes an initiating move by showing a reaction to it. There are two possible reactions: either the responding move supports the initiating move or confronts it. For instance, the initiating move *Come here!* can be completed with a complying (*OK*) or a refusing (*No way*) responding move.

The combination of these parameters produces a classification of utterances according to their function in a communicative exchange. The different classes are called 'speech functions'. The 12 speech functions that emerge from this classification and their names are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1   The 12 speech functions

Purpose of the exchange	Object involved in the exchange	Initiating move	Supporting responding move	Confronting responding move
Giving	Information	STATEMENT: *It's raining*	ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: *Yeah*	CONTRADICTION: *No, it isn't*
	Goods-and-services	OFFER: *May I help you?*	ACCEPTANCE: *Thank you*	REJECTION: *No, thanks*
Obtaining	Information	QUESTION: *Is it raining?*	ANSWER: *Yes, it is*	DISCLAIMER: *I've no idea*
	Goods-and-services	COMMAND: *Stand up!*	COMPLIANCE: *OK*	REFUSAL: *No!*

Table 4.2 Congruent realizations of speech functions in English

Speech function	Mood type	Example
Statement	Declarative	*I'm not feeling very well.*
Question	Interrogative	*Where do you live?*
Command	Imperative	*Stop that!*
Offer	Interrogative	*Would like a cup of tea?*
	Declarative	*You can use my phone.*

The grammar of different languages provides resources for expressing these primary speech functions by means of primary MOOD types like 'declarative', 'interrogative' and 'imperative', though they may vary in how they group these categories together, or in different subtypes of each.

Table 4.1 displays the twelve basic speech functions that make up an exchange. Speech functions can be realized congruently or non-congruently. Congruent realizations are those considered prototypical: for example, questions are typically realized by interrogative clauses, statements by declarative clauses, and commands are realized by imperative clauses. Offers are realized by declarative or interrogative clauses, but the fact that they contain a proposal rather than a proposition has some consequences on the grammar, as we will see below in connection with Spanish. Table 4.2 summarizes these congruent realizations of speech functions, illustrated with examples from English.

The relationship between these pairs is so close that for non-linguists it is difficult to keep concepts such as 'question' and 'interrogative clause' separate. However, one only needs to listen to an everyday conversation in any language to discover a good number of realizations for speech functions that deviate from those in Table 4.2, as shown in examples (1–3) below:

(1) Could you please stand up? (Interrogative clause realizing Command)
(2) The door is open.   (Declarative clause realizing Command)
     OK, I'll go and shut it.   (Compliance responding to Command)
(3) I'd like to know who did it. (Declarative clause realizing question)

These can be described as non-congruent realizations of speech functions, and they are more commonly found with offers and commands than with statements and questions. The reason for this is that exchanges concerning goods-and-services involve complex and delicate social interactions. Accordingly, the purpose of non-congruent realizations very often is to modulate the

politeness of our utterance. Interrogative clauses, for instance, are perhaps universally perceived as more polite than imperative clauses as the realization of a command.

   Responding speech functions are more often realized by congruent realizations, since their role in the exchange is to simply complete an initiating move. Common realizations of both confirming and confronting responding speech functions are minor clauses (*Yes, No*), elliptical clauses (*Yes, I do*), or even non-linguistic sounds (*oh, uhu*) or non-verbal behaviour. Responding speech functions may also receive no realization at all in the dialogue. This is possible because the sense of the responding move is made clear by a new initiating move produced by the speaker. Consequently, it can be left unexpressed, as examples (4–5) illustrate.

(4) Why don't we go the cinema? (Offer)
     I've got an exam tomorrow. (Statement, implying Refusal to Offer)
     Oh. (Acknowledgement to Statement)
(5) Ask John if he wants to come   (Command)
       with us.
     What's his extension? (Question, implying Compliance)
     9879. (Answer)

Closely related to MOOD is the system of POLARITY, which serves to express the speaker's assessment about the validity of the clause content. The system of POLARITY contains the basic opposition between the features Positive and Negative, which are applied to the three primary clause types (declarative, interrogative, imperative) to produce different meanings, as we will see when dealing with the Spanish systems. Formally speaking, the feature Negative tends to be the marked term in the opposition, as it normally requires the insertion of an extra element in most languages. The grammatical function that signals this feature is the Negator, underlined in examples (6–8).

(6) John is happy → John is <u>not</u> happy
(7) Is it true? → Is<u>n't</u> it true?
(8) Move! → Do <u>not</u> move!

Alternatively, a negative clause can be obtained in most languages by assigning a quantification equal to or close to zero to any of the participants or circumstances in the clause, as examples (9–13) illustrate.

(9) <u>Nobody</u> knew the answer.
(10) He did<u>n't</u> say <u>anything</u>.
(11) He felt <u>no</u> satisfaction.
(12) I'm <u>not</u> going <u>anywhere</u>!
(13) He <u>hardly ever</u> talks about money.

Other systems of POLARITY only refine the central meaning contributed by the two basic values. Thus, speakers may put emphasis on the polarity value chosen for the clause, as in examples (14–15), or express a certain degree of insecurity about the polarity value chosen for the clause through an element known as 'tag', as in (16):

(14) He also says that the nickel content does not, for all practical purposes, make any difference to the hardness, but that it <u>does make</u> it more stain resistant. (BNC: A0C)
(15) I was surprised, for I knew that she had <u>no relatives</u> in England <u>at all</u>. (BNC: B1Y)
(16) Annie's your sister, <u>isn't she</u>. (BNC: A74)

The systems in the region of POLARITY express a binary opposition between positive and negative. Nevertheless, speakers have the possibility of expressing more subtle meanings than the absolute opposition between negative and positive polarity. These meanings are found in the system of MODALITY, and they serve to indicate various degrees of proximity to the positive and negative poles. Modal meanings can be classified into four main groups according to the nuance they contribute to the clause. These are *probability, usuality, willingness* and *obligation.*

Probability covers those modal meanings concerning the speaker's commitment to the validity of the proposition contained in the clause. Figure 4.1 shows some probability expressions in English, moving from maximal proximity to the positive pole to maximal proximity to the negative pole.

Usuality is a resource that allows speakers to introduce a quantifying element to specify the proportion of cases or occasions on which the polarity of the proposition is appropriate. Figure 4.2 shows some common expressions of usuality in English and the strength or proximity to either of the two poles they convey. Notice that the strength of the expressions of usuality is often further refined through adverbial modification: *very rarely, not very often, almost always,* etc.

Both *probability* and *usuality* are applied to the clause as proposition. In other words, they are relevant in utterances aimed at exchanging information.

Positive pole, clause content is presented as accurate	+	*He is busy today*
High degree of certainty that the content is accurate		*He must be busy today*
Median degree of certainty that the content is accurate		*He might be busy today*
Median degree of certainty that the content is inaccurate		*He might not be busy today*
High degree of certainty that the content is inaccurate		*He can't be busy today*
Negative pole, clause content is presented as inaccurate	−	*He is not busy today*

FIGURE 4.1   Probability expressions with various degrees of strength in English

Positive pole, clause content is accurate on all occasions	+	*He is always busy*
High proportion of occasions when content is accurate		*He is often busy*
Median proportion of occasions when the content is (in)accurate		*He is sometimes busy*
High proportion of occasions when the content is inaccurate		*He is rarely busy*
Negative pole, clause content is inaccurate on all occasions	−	*He is never busy*

FIGURE 4.2   Usuality expressions with various degrees of strength in English

For this reason, there is a special term in SF theory to cover both types of modality: *modalization.*

However, *modality* can also appear in clauses that contain a proposal, that is, clauses aimed at exchanging goods-and-services rather than information. This subtype of modality receives the name of *modulation*, and it serves to

express various degrees of strength for two fundamental components in any exchange of goods-and-services.

The first component is related to the participant that must accomplish the proposal, and it defines his/her inclination to carry it out. This type of modulation is known as willingness. Its meanings range from a high degree of inclination to carry out the proposal – near the positive pole – to a high degree of inclination not to carry out the proposal – near the negative pole. The expressions that realize the meanings of willingness are not very grammaticalized in European languages, so they tend to constitute an open set of lexical words similar to English *want to, be anxious to* or *willingly*. These expressions for the realization of willingness possess different degrees of strength as part of their lexical meaning, which can be slightly modified by the addition of emphasizers or downtoners: *be really anxious, hardly willingly*, etc.

The second crucial component in an exchange of goods-and-services that can be altered by *modulation* concerns the speaker and the degree of forcefulness s/he adds to the proposal. This type of modulation is known as *obligation*. As can be seen in Figure 4.3, *obligation* presents a command at the positive extreme in English, which softens to advice as we move away from that pole. The negative area of the scale presents a prohibition at the pole, while the central or neutral area equally distant from both poles contains expressions for the mere absence of obligation or prohibition.

In the following sections we will focus on the main lexicogrammatical systems of the Spanish clause which reflect the interpersonal metafunction,

Positive pole, command	+	*Leave now!*
Strong obligation		*You must leave now*
Mild obligation		*You should leave now*
Absence of obligation/prohibition		*You don't have to/needn't leave now*
Mild restriction		*You shouldn't leave now*
Strong restriction		*You mustn't leave now*
Negative pole, prohibition	−	*Don't leave now!*

FIGURE 4.3 Obligation expressions with various degrees of strength in English

conceptualized in SF theory as the enactment of intersubjectivity. The central interpersonal resource is the system of MOOD; the other interpersonal systems are POLARITY, and MODALITY.

4.2 Spanish MOOD systems

The system of MOOD grammaticalizes speech function and allows the speaker and the listener in an exchange to adopt a number of speech roles. In the following sections we will first consider the primary mood types that are grammaticalized in the Spanish clause, and will later examine how these are used to realize the basic speech functions in this language. All the Spanish examples shown here have been obtained from the CREA, except a few simple examples which have been obtained through introspection.

4.2.1 Mood types in the Spanish clause

The primary systemic contrast which is grammaticalized in the Spanish clause is the distinction between 'imperative' and 'indicative'. This distinction captures the difference in the nature of commodity being exchanged: either goods-and-services (proposal) realized by the imperative mood or information (proposition) realized by the indicative mood. The prototypical way of realizing different mood types in Spanish is through the direction of the tone in the intonation contour (falling tone vs rising tone) (see Teruya et al. 2008). Thus, declaratives are typically realized by a falling tone, interrogatives by a falling–rising tone, and exclamatives by a rising–falling tone. Here it differs from other languages, such as English, where different mood options are realized sequentially by means of the relative sequence of the elements Subject and Finite. Also, as will be shown below, verbal morphology is also used in Spanish to mark different clausal moods.

4.2.1.1 Imperative

The imperative mood type can be recognized in the Spanish clause due to an exclusive set of inflections on the verb. This is the so-called Imperative tense,[2] which contains forms only for the second-person singular (17) and second-person plural with positive polarity (18), although the latter is often replaced by the infinitive form in informal speech.

(17) *Ven   aquí.*
    come-IMP-2s   here
    'Come here.'

(18) *Venid/Venir   aquí.*
    come-IMP-2p/Inf   here
    'Come here.'

For all the other cases – including the second person of politeness and any form appearing in a negative clause – the forms of the Present Subjunctive tense are employed (19–20).

(19) *Venga   aquí.*
    come-Pr-Subj-2s-polite   here
    'Come here.'

(20) *No   vengas   aquí.*
    NEG   come-Pr-Subj-2s   here
    'Don't come here.'

The frequent absence of an explicit Subject in these clauses should not be regarded as a distinctive feature of the imperative mood in Spanish, since such absence is also quite common in declarative clauses. In addition, the Subject can be added in imperative clauses for emphasis, as in (21).

(21) *Vosotros   no   vengáis   aquí.*
    you-pl   NEG   come-Pr-Subj-2p   here
    'You don't come here.'

More relevant is the position of clitics within the Predicator, at least for positive clauses. In positive imperative clauses in Spanish, clitics always appear in final position (22–24), whereas they are the first element of the Predicator in clauses of any other mood (25–26). This applies also to imperative clauses in which the verb is not an Imperative form (23), and even to the Indicative form *vamos* (go-Pr-1p), which can adopt an imperative meaning similar to English *let's go* (24). Also notice the arbitrary convention of writing clitics as morphemes when they follow the verb and as separate words when they precede it, even though there is no difference in the spoken language.

(22) *Díselo.*
      say-IMP-2s-him/her-it
      'Say it to him/her, tell him/her.'

(23) *Dígaselo.*
      say-Pr-Subj-2s-polite-him/her-it
      'Say it to him/her, tell him/her.'

(24) *Vámonos.*
      go-Pr-1p-REFL
      'Let's go.'

(25) *Se   lo   he dicho.*
      him/her   it   say-Pr-pf-1s
      'I've told him/her, I've said it to him/her.'

(26) *¿Se   lo   has dicho?*
      him/her   it   say-Pr-pf-2s
      'Have you told him/her?, have you said it to him/her?'

Nevertheless, this feature is neutralized in negative clauses, as clitics always appear in initial position within the Predicator, irrespective of the mood type:

(27) *No   se   lo   digas.*
      NEG   him/her   it   say-Pr-Subj-2s
      'Don't tell him/her, don't say it to him/her.'

(28) *No   se   lo   digamos.*
      NEG   him/her   it   say-Pr-Subj-1p
      'Let's not tell him/her, let's not say it to him/her.'

The imperative mood type can be further categorized into two subtypes: 'optative' and 'directive'. As explained by Lavid (in Teruya et al. 2008), the 'optative' type is a fringe category for enacting wishes; the Predicator is realized by the subjunctive verbal form, as in (29) below.

(29) *Ojalá   venga   María*
      May   come-Pr-Subj-3s   María
      'I wish Mary came.'

The 'directive' type includes the core 'jussive' type of imperative and the 'suggestive' type. In the 'jussive' type, there is a tenor-related contrast in modal distance between 'informal' and 'formal'. The 'informal' one is realized by imperative form of the verb, as in (17) above. The 'formal' type is an expansion of the system; it is constructed out of the Present Subjunctive: the Finite is realized by the third-person Subjunctive form of the verb and the Subject is the formal personal pronoun *usted/ustedes*, as in (30) below. Both the 'informal' and the 'formal' types exist in the singular (one addressee) and the plural (more than one addressee).

(30) *Imagínese*   *usted*
        imagine-Pr-Subj-2s-polite-REFL   you-polite
        'Imagine.'

The 'suggestive' type is oriented towards both addressee and speaker and is realized by the first-person plural Subjunctive form of the verb, as in (31).

(31) *Vayamos*
        go-Pr-Subj-1p
        'Let's go.'

These options – jussive and suggestive – are 'personal', since they assign modal responsibility to the addressee or the addressee plus the speaker. It is also possible to distinguish an 'impersonal' type of imperative, illustrated in (32–33). Systemically, it could be contrasted with all the personal imperatives as an impersonal type. In this subtype it is also possible to distinguish between a 'formal' version (exemplified by (32)), realized by the third-person present subjunctive, and an 'informal' one (illustrated by (33)), realized by the infinitive.

(32) *Véase*   *más*   *abajo*
        see-Pr-Subj-3s-REFLEXIVE   more   down
        'See below.'

(33) *Tirar*   *después de*   *usar*
        throw-Inf   after   use-Inf
        'Throw away after using it.'

4.2.1.2 *Indicative*

As explained before, Spanish differentiates the imperative mood from all other clausal mood types, which can be grouped together under the Indicative

mood type. This distinction captures the difference between clauses concerned with the exchange of information (the negotiation of propositions: Indicative) versus clauses concerned with the performance of an action to provide a service or to exchange goods (the negotiation of proposals: Imperative).

The indicative clausal mood has two main options in Spanish: 'interrogative', on the one hand, and 'declarative', on the other hand.

4.2.1.2.1 Interrogative

This subtype of clausal mood can be further specified into two more delicate options: 'wh-interrogatives' and 'yes–no interrogatives'. The latter can be further specified into 'biased' and 'unbiased'.

4.2.1.2.1.1 Wh-interrogative

Wh-interrogatives realize content questions, which serve to obtain information about different aspects of a participant or circumstance from the clause. Their most conspicuous feature is the presence of an interrogative word realizing any of the grammatical functions of the clause. Table 4.3 shows the interrogative items available in Spanish and the piece of information they concern.

Table 4.3 Interrogative words in Spanish

qué ('what')	non-human participant	*¿Qué quieres?* ('What do you want')
qué ('what/which')	individual from a group (deictic)	*¿Qué libro quieres?* ('What/which book do you want?')
quién/es ('who')	human participant	*¿Quién eres?* ('Who are you?')
cuál/es ('which')	individual from an identified group (head)	*¿Cuál quieres?* ('Which one do you want?')
cuándo ('when')	time locative	*¿Cuándo empieza?* ('When does it start?')
dónde ('where')	spatial locative, destination	*¿Dónde está?* ('Where is it?') *¿Dónde vas?* ('Where are you going?')
cómo ('how')	manner	*¿Cómo vendrás?* ('How will you come?')
cuánto/a/os/as	quantity	*¿Cuánto quieres?* ('How much do you want?')

Notice that Spanish does not distinguish between the reference to an individual not belonging to any particular group (*What books have you read?*) and the reference to an individual from an identified group (*Which book do you want?*) within the nominal group. The interrogative *qué* is employed in both cases.

The interrogative *dónde* referring to the grammatical function of Destination coexists today with the traditional form *adónde*, composed of *dónde* and the preposition *a*, which indicates Destination with any noun.

The list of concepts about which one can ask in Spanish, shown in Table 4.3, may seem rather short, because many interrogative expressions are actually derived from some of the words listed there. Thus, a question about a grammatical function containing a location makes use of the interrogative *dónde* preceded by the appropriate preposition: *de dónde* ('where from'), *hacia dónde* ('where to'), *por dónde* ('where about'). Questions about time extents are built with the expression *cuánto tiempo* ('how much time, how long'), and frequency is asked with the expressions *con qué frecuencia* ('with what frequency, how often') or *con cuánta frecuencia* ('with how much frequency, how often'). The intensity of qualities is asked with the interrogative *cómo* followed by the preposition *de* and the relevant quality: *cómo de alto* ('how tall'), *cómo de rápido* ('how quick'). Finally, cause and purpose are asked using the interrogative *qué* preceded by the appropriate preposition: *por qué* ('why'), *para qué* ('what for').

There used to be an interrogative word in Spanish that specialized in the relationship of possession (*cúyo/a/os/as,* 'whose'), but this has been replaced by the phrase *de quién* ('of whom, whose') in modern times.

As in most European languages, the interrogative word occupies the initial position in the wh-interrogative clause in Spanish, thus being perceived as unmarked Thematic Head of the clause. It is possible, however, to find other elements preceding the wh-word, as in examples (34) and (35) below. While the former is used for emphatic purposes, the latter illustrates an Absolute Theme construction (see the discussion on theme markedness in Chapter 5 below).

(34) ¿*Tú*   *qué*   *quieres*   *hacer?*
      you-sg   what   want-Pr-2s   do-Inf
      'What do you want to do?'

Utterances like (34) are rather common in modern Spanish, particularly in the oral language. Very probably, they have their origin in examples like (35), also in use today.

(35) *El   coche . . .   ¿dónde   lo   has levantado?*
     the   car   where   it   steal-Pr-pf-2s
     'The car . . . where did you steal it?

Unlike in (34), the Theme in (35) is felt by speakers to be outside the constituency structure of the clause. This is indicated by a pause separating the Theme from the clause and the production of two different intonation units in speech. As can be seen, such prosodic features are represented in writing in example (35). In contrast, the Theme in example (34) is not separated from the rest of the clause by a pause and it is included in the same intonation unit, thus giving rise to this peculiar construction in which there is a Theme preceding the interrogative word.

Together with the presence of an interrogative word, the most prominent feature of wh-interrogatives in Spanish is intonation.[3] These clauses are normally pronounced with a rising tone, which clearly distinguishes them from declarative and imperative clauses. But even when they are pronounced with a falling tone, the characteristic high pitch of the interrogative word betrays the interrogative mood. The prominence of intonation in Spanish to distinguish interrogative from declarative clauses is reflected in the fact that both opening ('¿') as well as closing ('?') question marks are used in the written language.

The Mood element, so important in other languages, is less consistently used to mark the interrogative mood in Spanish. Perhaps the most important reason for this is that Spanish clauses often lack an explicit Subject. As a result, the position of the Subject relative to the Finite is a very limited mechanism for marking Mood in this language. Evidence of the limited role of the Mood element in the expression of Mood in Spanish is that neither the Subject nor the Finite appear in tags, nor do they appear in elliptical clauses as the realization of responding speech functions, as examples (36–37) show.

(36) *Lo   has visto,   ¿no?*
     it   see-Pr-pf-2s   TAG
     'You saw that, didn't you?'

(37) *¿Has leído   este   libro?*
     read-Pr-pf-2s   this   book
     'Have you read this book?
     Sí   (lo   he leído).
     yes   it   read-Pr-pf-1s
     'Yes, I have (read it)'

Even when there is a Subject present in the clause, its position relative to the Finite is not a reliable indication of the clausal mood in Spanish. Perhaps a post-verbal position of the Subject is the default choice in wh-interrogatives, but this is also typical of non-interrogative clauses in which an element occupies the initial position. This includes exclamative clauses (38), relative clauses (39), projected questions (40) and affirmative clauses in which a participant of the nuclear transitivity structure has been thematized (40).

(38) *¡Qué   bien   habla   ese   señor!*
      how   well   speak-Pr-3s   that   man
                     | Predicator | Subject |
      'How well that man speaks!'

(39) *Todo   comienza   con el libro   que   escribió   el amigo*
      all   begin-Pr-3s   with the book   that   write-P-pfv-3s   the friend
                                             | Predicator | Subject |

      del autor.
      of-the author
      | Subject |
      'Everything begins with the book the author's friend wrote.'

(40) *No   sabía   adónde   me   llevaba   Miguel*
      NEG   know-P-ipfv-1s   where   me   take-P-ipfv-3s   Miguel
                                               | Predicator | Subject |
      'I didn't know where Miguel was taking me.'

(41) *Esta   canción   la   ha cantado   Olof Palme.*
      this   song   it   sing-Pr-pf-3s   Olof Palme
                           | Predicator | Subject |
      'This song has been sung by Olof Palme.'

In addition, a pre-verbal position of the Subject is not uncommon in wh-interrogatives, as we will see below. For all this, the Mood element can be said to play a secondary role in marking wh-interrogative clauses in Spanish.

   As already mentioned, the default position of the Subject in interrogative clauses may be considered to be after rather than before the verb. However, it should be noticed that in Spanish the Subject normally follows the whole Predicator (42) – and sometimes even Complements (43) or Adjuncts (44) – instead of the Finite, as it is the case in other languages. For this reason, the

Finite has not been marked here as a separate element in the mood struc-
ture of the clause.

(42)

¿Cuándo	debería	haber llegado	Juan?
when	should-C-3s	arrive-Inf-pf	Juan
Adjunct	Predicator		Subject

'When should Juan have arrived?'

(43)

¿Por qué	se puso	enfermo	Juan?
why	become-P-pfv-3s	ill	Juan
Adjunct	Predicator	Complement	Subject

'Why did Juan get ill?'

(44)

¿Por qué	se repite	cíclicamente	la idea de que	hay
why	repeat-Pr-3s	cyclically	the idea of that	there-is-Pr-3s
Adjunct	Predicator	Adjunct	Subject	

crisis	en	el	Gobierno?
crisis	in	the	Government
	Subject		

'Why does the idea that the Government is in crisis reappear cyclically?'

The default post-verbal position of the Subject can be altered when the the-
matic structure of the clause demands it. Consequently, it is not difficult to
find interrogative clauses in Spanish in which the Subject precedes the
Predicator. There are, however, some restrictions on this, as some contexts
accept a pre-verbal position of the Subject more easily than others.

Certain Subject types – treated in more detail below – are reluctant to
abandon the post-verbal position even in declarative clauses. These Sub-
jects cannot normally be placed before the verb in interrogative clauses,
unless they can act as the Theme of the clause. Thus, example (45) could
be transformed into (46), but not (47), whereas example (48) does not
accept any other ordering.

(45)

¿A quién	le	importa	el	futuro	de	unos
to whom	him/her	matter-Pr-3s	the	future	of	a
Complement	Predicator		Subject			

cuantos	investigadores
few	researchers
Subject	

'Who cares about the future of a few researchers?'

(46) *El futuro de unos cuantos investigadores, ¿a quién le importa?*

(47) ** ¿A quién el futuro de unos cuantos investigadores le importa?*

(48)

¿*Cuándo*	*es*	*conveniente*	*que*	*se*
when	be-Pr-3s	advisable	that	PASS
Adjunct	Predicator	Complement	Subject	

realice		*una*	*ostomía?*
implement-Pr-Subj-3s		an	ostomy
Subject			

'When is it advisable to carry out an ostomy?'

Other Subjects accept a pre-verbal position in the interrogative clause more or less easily depending on the nature of the interrogative word. For instance, when this realizes a Complement, the pre-verbal position of the Subject is less admissible than when it realizes an Adjunct. If we move the Subjects in (49–50) – in which the interrogative words realizes a Complement – to a pre-verbal, non-thematic position, the result is unacceptable (51–52).

(49)

¿*Qué*	*hace*	*usted*	*en su tiempo libre?*
what	do-Pr-2s-polite	you-sg-polite	in your time free
Complement	Predicator	Subject	Adjunct

'What do you do in your free time?'

(50)

¿*Qué*	*es*	*el amor*	*para*	usted?
what	be-Pr-3s	the love	to	you-sg-polite
Complement	Predicator	Subject		Complement

'What's love to you?'

(51) ** ¿Qué usted hace en su tiempo libre?*

(52) ** ¿Qué el amor es para usted?*

However, a post-verbal position of the Subject in (53–54) – in which the interrogative word realizes an Adjunct – is perfectly acceptable (55–56).

(53)

¿*Por qué*	*los cuerpos calientes*	*se enfrían?*
why	the bodies hot	get-cold-Pr-3p
Adjunct	Subject	Predicator

'Why do hot bodies cool down?'

(54)

¿*Cuándo*	*los empresarios*	*tomarán*	*por norma*	*contratar* (. . .)?
when	the businessmen	take-F-3p	as norm	hire-Inf
Adjunct	Subject		Predicator	Complement

'When will businessmen take as a norm to hire (. . .)?'

(55) ¿*Por qué se enfrían los cuerpos calientes?*

(56) ¿*Cuándo tomarán por norma los empresarios contratar . . .*
¿*Cuándo tomarán los empresarios por norma contratar . . .*

One can see from all these examples that the position of the constituents in the Spanish clause is rather flexible. With the exception of a few restrictions, the default word order of wh-interrogative clauses can be abandoned to suit the needs of the thematic structure. In fact, one could say that the requirements of the text as a message often overrule those of the text as exchange in Spanish as far as Mood element is concerned.

4.2.1.2.1.2 Yes–no interrogative
This subtype differs from wh-interrogative clauses in that their aim is not to question about one of the participants or circumstantials of the clause, but to question the whole polarity of it.

Yes–no interrogative clauses can be further subdivided into 'unbiased' and 'biased'. The former realize unbiased polar questions, which serve to ask about the appropriate polarity of a clause. In unbiased interrogatives the speaker has no expectation as to the answer, as s/he truly ignores which polarity is the accurate one (57).

(57) ¿*Tienes*   *hambre?*
have-Pr-2s   hunger
'Are you hungry'?
Sí/No.
Yes–No.

There can be little doubt that the most important feature that characterizes unbiased yes–no interrogative clauses in Spanish is intonation: these clauses are pronounced with a distinct rising tone.

As regards the Mood element, most of what was said with respect to wh-interrogatives is also true for yes–no interrogatives. The Mood element cannot be very useful in marking this clausal mood because very often the Subject is missing in Spanish. When one is present, there is an underlying tendency to place it in a post-verbal position. Nevertheless, as we have seen

before, this does not necessarily mean that the Subject must immediately follow the Predicator. In Spanish, the Subject may appear after a Complement (58) or even an Adjunct (59).

(58)

¿Se han dirigido	*a usted*	*los partidos politicos?*
contact-Pr-pf-3p	to you-polite	the parties political
Predicator	Complement	Subject

'Have the political parties contacted you?'

(59)

¿Han cambiado	*mucho*	*las cosas*	*desde entonces . . .?*
change-Pr-pf-3p	much	the things	since then
Predicator	Adjunct	Subject	Adjunct

'Have things changed much since then?'

This default post-verbal position of the Subject can be easily abandoned if the speaker needs to thematize the Subject. Once more, one can find two different, although closely related, constructions in Spanish. In the first construction, the thematized Subject is separated from the clause by a pause and an independent intonation unit, no longer being part of the transitivity structure of the clause (60).

(60)

Usted . . .	*¿sabe*	*lo de esa carta?*
you-sg-polite	know-Pr-2s-polite	that of that letter
	Predicator	Complement

'Do you know that matter of the letter?'

In the second construction, the thematized Subject is included in the intonation unit of the clause, without any pause in speech (61).

(61)

¿Usted	*sabe*	*disparar*	*así?*
you-sg-polite	know-Pr-2s-polite	shoot	like this
Subject	Predicator		Complement

'Can you shoot like this?'

It seems, then, that the default order of constituents dictated by the interpersonal structure of the clause is often overruled by the demands of the clause as message in Spanish yes–no interrogatives.

The second subtype of yes–no interrogative clauses are the so-called biased ones. Biased yes–no interrogative clauses are used to realize biased polar questions. These interrogatives are similar to their unbiased counterpart in that they ask about the appropriate polarity of the clause. The difference

between the two is that in biased interrogatives the speaker has what we might call an 'initial hypothesis' as to the right polarity. The speaker is inclined to believe – with more or less solid evidence – that one of the two polarities is the appropriate one for the clause, and by uttering a biased interrogative s/he is seeking confirmation that s/he is right, or s/he is showing disbelief or surprise.

The reason why the speaker starts with an expectation as to the adequate polarity for the clause is often some kind of indirect evidence or clue: there is something leading him/her to conclude that one of the two polarities is the correct one, as examples (62–63) illustrate.

(62) *¿Es que*   *no*   *te*   *importamos?*
       BIASED-INT   NEG   you   matter-Pr-1p
       'You don't care about us?'

(63) *¿No*   *te*   *gusta*   *la*   *idea?*
       NEG   you   like-Pr-3s   the   idea
       'What's wrong? You don't like the idea?

In a weak version of biased interrogatives, the speaker is based on nothing more than a guess or an impression. This type is often used in speech as a strategy to persuade the addressee, as it has the purpose of compelling him/her to agree with what the speaker is saying (64).

(64) *¿No*   *cree*   *usted*   *que es un error (. . .)*
       NEG   think-Pr-2s-polite   you-sg-polite   that is a mistake
       'Don't you think it is a mistake (. . .)?'

As regards the formal marking of this mood subtype, it will be seen from the preceding examples that there are two main grammatical resources to realize biased interrogatives in Spanish. One is by constructing a yes–no interrogative clause with negative polarity. These clauses always show a bias towards negative polarity when they are based on some evidence, as in example (63). When they are used as a strategy of persuasion, the bias is towards positive polarity, as in example (64).

The second way of marking biased interrogatives in Spanish is through the insertion of specialized expressions, such as *es que* (62) and its far more formal equivalent *acaso*. These indicators of biased interrogation have the advantage that they can combine with both positive (65) and negative polarity (66), thus enabling speakers to produce questions biased towards positive or negative polarity.

(65) *¿Acaso   has oído   algún   comentario?*
     BIASED-INT   hear-Pr-pf-2s   any   comment
     'So you've heard something?'

(66) *¿Es que   te   han preguntado   a ti?   A   mi   no.*
     BIASED-INT   you   ask-Pr-pf-3p   to you to me NEG
     'So you've been asked? I haven't.'

The order of the constituents of these clauses is borrowed from other mood types. Thus, when the biased interrogative is built using just negative polarity, the tendencies are exactly those described for unbiased interrogatives. That is why the Subject follows the Predicator in example (64). On the other hand, biased interrogatives that make use of the specialized phrases *acaso* or *es que* show the same behaviour as declarative clauses.

Something similar can be said of the intonation with which these clauses are pronounced. Biased interrogatives containing the expressions *acaso* or *es que* are uttered with a high pitch at the beginning of the clause, just like wh-interrogatives. Those clauses that simply contain negative polarity are pronounced pretty much like unbiased interrogatives.

4.2.1.2.2 *Declarative*

The declarative mood type groups together 'affirmative' and 'exclamative' clauses in Spanish. The difference between these two lies in the attitude of the speaker towards his/her proposition. Thus, in 'affirmative' clauses, the speaker presents a proposition to the listener as true or false. In 'exclamative' clauses, the speaker does not present a proposition as true or false, but his/her own assessment or reaction with respect to the information contained in the proposition. Also, both types differ in their realization, as will be explained in detail below.

When using the 'affirmative' subtype, speakers communicate something in a neutral way, without revealing their attitude towards the content of the proposition, as in (67).

(67) *Había   mucha   gente   en   la   fiesta.*
     there be-P-ipfv-3s   many   people at   the   party
     'There were a lot of people at the party.'

Affirmative clauses do not show any special marking of the verbal inflection and they are typically pronounced with a falling tone. As for the role of the

Mood element in marking affirmative clauses, we have seen that this is rather limited in Spanish. A pre-verbal position of the Subject has been traditionally considered to be canonical, but Subjects can be easily moved to a post-verbal position for textual reasons. As a matter of fact, there are certain transitivity structures that impose a post-verbal position of the Subject as a default (and sometimes the only) choice in Spanish, such as:

- Mental processes in which the Subject is conflated with the Phenomenon rather than the Senser (68).

(68)

No	*me*		*gustan*	*los críticos.*
NEG	me		like-Pr-3p	the critics
	Complement/Senser		Predicator	Subject/Phenomenon

'I don't like critics.'

- Relational processes in which the Subject is realized by a process (69), particularly when they are 'long' (Delbecque 1987).

(69)

Es	*importante*	*que*	*sea*	*sólida.*
be-Pr-3s	important	that	be-Pr-Subj-3s	solid
Predicator	Complement		Subject	

'It is important that it be solid.'

- Processes with a single participant (70) (López Meirama 1997).

(70)

Por primera vez	*se*	*han encontrado*	*huellas*
for first time	PASS	find-Pr-pf-3p	traces
Adjunct		Predicator	Subject

de	*su*	*presencia*	*en*	*la*	*región*	*sur*	*del*	*país.*
of	its	presence	in	the	region	south	of-the	country
	Subject			Adjunct				

'Traces of its presence have been found for the first time in the southern region of the country.'

(71)

Ha muerto	*un humorista*
die-Pr-pf-3s	a comedian
Predicator	Subject

'A comedian has died.'

- Clauses in which a participant of the transitivity structure occupies the initial position, illustrated above by examples (38–41).

Exclamative clauses are used when the speaker chooses to emphasize some aspect of a participant or circumstance from the clause, conveying meanings such as surprise, incredulity, intensification. Examples (67) and (72) emphasize the quantity assigned to the Existent.

(72) ¡Cuánta gente   había   en   la   fiesta!
    how-many people   there-be-P-ipfv-3s   at   the   party
    'How many people there were at the party!'

Exclamative clauses are clearly distinguished in Spanish due to the habitual presence of a wh-element. Like in interrogative clauses, the wh-element occupies the first position. However, exclamative clauses are less flexible than interrogatives as far as the ordering of the grammatical functions is concerned, as the initial position is obligatory for the wh-element.

Any interrogative word can be used to produce an exclamative clause in Spanish. However, qualities are not emphasized with the expression *cómo de*, but *qué*:

(73) ¡Qué   extraño!
    what   strange
    'How strange!'

Another possibility to emphasize a quality in Spanish is to use an incomplete comparative construction. These constructions are pronounced with an ending level tone typical of unfinished statements. For this reason, these clauses are often written with ellipsis:

(74) Y   tú   eres   tan   guapa . . .
    and   you   be-Pr-2s   as, so   beautiful
    'And you're so beautiful . . .'

When the emphasized quality appears within a nominal group, the head of the group must also receive emphasis:

(75) ¡Qué   sueño   más   tonto . . .!
    what   dream   more   silly
    'What a silly dream!'

Table 4.4 summarizes the system of MOOD in Spanish. It should be borne in mind that those realization statements controlling the order of grammatical functions can be overruled by conflicting realization statements from other systems, as we have seen above. The symbol (. . .) means that the

Table 4.4　The system of MOOD in Spanish

Features					Realization
Indicative	Interrogative	Yes–no interrogative	Biased		Falling ^ Rising tone (Subject) . . . Predicator
			Unbiased		Predicator . . . (Subject)
		Wh-interrogative			Falling tone +*Qu*-element #^Wh Predicador . . . (Subject)
	Declarative	Affirmative			Falling tone (Subject) . . . Predicator
		Exclamative			Rising ^ Falling tone +*Qu*-element
Imperative	Optative				*Ojalá/Así* + Subjunctive
	Directive	Jussive		Informal	+ Finite (Imperative)
				Formal	+ Finite (Pr Subj 3s) + *(usted)*
		Suggestive			+ Finite (Pr Subj 1p)
		Impersonal		Formal	+ Finite (Pr Subj 3s) ^ -se
				Informal	Non-finite (Infinitive)

functions Subject and Predicator are ordered without implying immediacy, as we have seen that other constituents may be placed between these two functions. The realization statement +Wh means that a *qu- element* must be inserted in the clause, whereas #^Wh indicates that this *qu- element* is placed in clause-initial position. Finally, the symbol (:::) conveys information about the inflection of the Finite in the Predicator.

4.2.2　Mood types and speech functions in Spanish

So far we have discussed the mood types that can be marked on the Spanish clause and the formal features that allow speakers to recognize them. Now we can consider how the speech functions that make up an exchange are realized through the clausal moods available in Spanish.

In Spanish, like in many languages, three of the four opening speech functions are typically associated with one of the clausal moods. This means that these three functions are, by default, realized through a certain mood type. These typical realizations are shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Typical realizations of opening speech acts in Spanish

Speech function	Mood type	Example
Statement	Declarative mood	*Juan es profesor* ('Juan is a teacher')
Question	Interrogative mood	*¿Estás cansado?* ('Are you tired?')
Command	Imperative mood	*Cállate* ('Be quiet')

As is often the case, the realizations of statements and questions tend to be congruent in Spanish, that is, they are realized by declarative clauses and interrogative clauses respectively. In fact, we have seen that there exist mood subtypes of declarative and interrogative clauses in Spanish that specialize in realizing subtypes of questions and statements such as exclamations or biased polar questions.

In contrast, commands and offers show a wide range of possible realizations, each fitted for a different communicative setting.

In Spanish the congruent realization of commands (i.e. the imperative mood) is only socially appropriate if there is some degree of familiarity between the interlocutors or if the addressee is in a position of power. In other circumstances, some degree of politeness – other than that provided by the selection of the pronoun *usted* instead of *tú* (you) – is required, and so commands often take the form of an interrogative clause, normally including a figurative reference to the addressee's ability (76).

(76) *¿Puede   usted   ponerse de pie,   por favor?*
    can-Pr-2s-polite   you-sg-polite   stand up-Inf   please
    'Could you please stand up?'

Declarative clauses are also acceptable as commands, but they show a high degree of inequality between the interlocutors (77).

(77) *Déjame   ir.*
    let-IMP-2s-me   go-Inf
    'Let me go.'
    Tú   te quedas   con   la   abuela.
    you   stay-Pr-2s   with   the   grandmother
    'You stay here with grandma.'

Offers do not have an exclusive clausal mood associated in Spanish, although the most common realizations in this language are:

- An interrogative clause (78), which can be made more polite if it includes a reference to the addressee's wishes or needs (79) or if it asks for permission (80)

(78) *¿Le   ayudo?*
     you-polite   help-Pr-1s
     'Do you need help?'

(79) *¿Quiere   que   le   ayude?*
     want-Pr-2s-polite that   you-polite help-Pr-Subj-1s
     'Do you need help?'

(80) *¿Puedo   ayudarle?*
     can-Pr-1s   help-Inf-you-polite
     'Can I help you?'

- An imperative clause in which the speaker is actually granting permission rather than trying to obtain some behaviour from the addressee (81).

(81) *Llévate   mi   paraguas.*
     take-IMP-2s   my   umbrella
     'Take my umbrella'

- A declarative clause (82). The use of the Future tense is standard in these clauses, but the Present tense is rather common in the oral language.

(82) *Yo   te   ayudaré   /   ayudo.*
     I   you   help-F-1s   help-Pr-1s
     'I'll help you'

Notice how Spanish processes are sensitive to the distinction between propositions and proposals. To start with, proposals are always about the present. Imperative clauses do not admit changes in tense selection, and offers cannot be located in the past or future. In fact, the very concept of 'an offer about the past' makes no sense from a semantic point of view (although we can verbalize that someone made a proposal in the past), and the same form is appropriate for both present and future contexts, as offers always imply a completion in a future time. In addition, proposals always take on a perfective interpretation, whereas propositions are, in normal circumstances, incompatible with a perfective interpretation in the present. This is illustrated by examples (83–84). In (83) the Present tense appears in an offer, and consequently the main process is viewed as a perfective situation.

In contrast, in (84) the Present tense appears in a statement, and so the most natural reading is that the process is a habitual.

(83) – *Juan   necesita   ayuda.   – Yo   le   ayudo.*
     Juan   need-Pr-3s   help   I   him   help-Pr-1s
     '– Juan needs help. – I'll help him, I can help him.'

(84) *Yo   le   ayudo   todos los días.*
     I   him   help-Pr-1s   every day.

A further difference between propositions and proposals in Spanish can be seen in the inflectional forms of the verb employed in projected clauses. Projected proposals take the Subjunctive form, while projected propositions appear in the Indicative. This overt marking means that many Spanish verbs show slight variation in meaning depending on the clause type that is projected, since the latter is clearly identified as a proposal or a proposition. Thus, the verb *decir* ('say, tell') means 'to state something' when the projected clause is a proposition (*decir que alguien viene*, 'to say that someone is coming'), but it means 'to order that something be done' when the projected clause is a proposal (*decir que alguien venga*, 'to order someone to come'). The contrast, often mentioned in descriptions of Spanish, is present in many verbs that denote verbal and mental processes.

Responding speech functions are, as we have mentioned before, much simpler than initiating speech functions in most languages, and Spanish is no exception. The basic expressions for supporting and confronting functions are *sí* and *no* respectively. However, there are countless alternatives to these, each suitable for a different communicative setting and reflecting varying degrees of intensity and enthusiasm on the speaker's part, such as *claro* ('sure'), *ni hablar* ('no way'), *vale* ('no problem'), *ok*, as well as many non-linguistic sounds and gestures. These expressions are often used in isolation in Spanish, and they are never accompanied by the Mood element like in English. If the speaker decides to be more explicit in his/her response, the relevant participant/circumstance or even the whole clause is echoed.

The following excerpt, in which the speech functions are indicated, exemplifies how an exchange develops in Spanish.

     ¿Quieres   chupar   esto?
     want-Pr-2s   suck-Inf   this
     'Do you want to chew this?'
              OFFER

¿Qué   es?
what   be-Pr-3s
'What is it?'
CONTENT QUESTION

Coca. . .   Raíz de coca . . .   A mí   me   calma   el dolor.
coca   root of coca   to me   me   relieve-Pr-3s the pain
'Coca . . . Coca root . . . It relieves my pain.'
                    ANSWER   STATEMENT

No, no.   Prefiero   descansar.
no, no   prefer-Pr-1s   rest-Inf
'No, no. I'd rather have some rest.'
    REJECTION   STATEMENT

¿Vas a quedarte   aquí?
stay-Pr-going-2s   here
'Are you gonna stay here?'
      POLAR QUESTION

Sí.
yes
ANSWER

Pero   Eva,   siempre   estás   aquí.
but   Eva   always   be-Pr-2s   here
'But Eva, you're always here.'
                    STATEMENT

Todos los días   hacemos   lo mismo.
all the days   do-Pr-1p   the same
'We do the same everyday.'
                    STATEMENT

Todos.
all
'Everyday.'
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Jo,   qué vida.   No   tenemos   nada   que hacer.
       what life   NEG   have-Pr-1p   nothing that do-Inf
'Jesus, what a life. There's nothing to do.'
STATEMENT   STATEMENT

Nada.   Yo   voy a cerrar   los ojos . . .
nothing   I   close-Pr-going-1s the eyes
'Nothing. I'm gonna close my eyes . . .'
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT   STATEMENT

¡Cansa   tanto   no   hacer   nada!
be-tiring-Pr-3s   so   NEG   do-Inf   nothing
'It's so tiring doing nothing!'
                    STATEMENT

4.3 Spanish POLARITY systems

4.3.1 Realization and meaning of polarity in Spanish

As it is the case in most languages, Spanish does not make use of any special marking for the realization of positive polarity in the clause. Negative polarity is indicated with the insertion of the Negator, which is always realized by the invariable word *no*. The Negator in Spanish always appears immediately before the Predicator. This ordering is rather rigid, and no participant or circumstance can be placed between *no* and the Predicator. These properties are exemplified in (85).

(85) *Es   possible   que   no   lo   hiciera*
     be-Pr-3s   possible   that   NEG   it   do-P-Subj-3s
     'It's possible that he didn't do it.'

When the speaker needs to focus the scope of negation in an explicit way, the Negator can be placed immediately before the relevant component. This contrastive construction requires the addition of the accurate information, which is introduced by the specialized word *sino*, as can be seen in (86).

(86) *Muchas fotografías   nos   interesan   no   por lo que*
     many photographs   us   interest-Pr-3p   NEG   for what

     vemos,   sino   por lo que   está   fuera de cuadro.
     see-Pr-1p   but   for what   be-Pr-3s   out of frame
     'Many pictures catch our interest not because of what we see in them,
        but because of what's out of frame.'

Focused negation can also be obtained by assigning a quantity equal to zero to one of the participants or circumstances in the clause, as we saw in the introduction. These quantifiers can be non-assertive (and so must be combined with a Negator) or fully negative (and so can make clause negative by themselves). Some languages present both possibilities, while other languages only use one of them. Spanish does not belong to either of these two groups. Due to the peculiar evolution of the language, zero quantifiers in Spanish act both as non-assertive and as fully negative elements, depending on their position in the clause. Thus, in pre-verbal position they behave like negative words (87), whereas in post-verbal position they retain their original non-assertive value (88). That explains why no Negator is required in (87), but it is necessary in (88).

(87) *Nadie   lo   vió.*
     nobody   it   see-P-pfv-3s
     'Nobody saw it.'

(88) *No   ha venido   nadie.*
     NEG   come-Pr-pf-3s   nobody
     'Nobody has come.'

Spanish has five negative/non-assertive expressions:

- *Nadie* ('nobody/anybody'), referring to human beings.
- *Nada* ('nothing/anything'), referring to inanimate objects and abstract entities.
- *Nunca* and *jamás* ('never/ever'), both referring to time intervals. *Jamás* is more formal than *nunca*, and also more emphatic. In addition, it can only denote a null quantity, whereas *nunca* can be modulated: *casi nunca* ('almost never').
- *Ningún/a/os/as* ('no/any'), used to accompany the head in the nominal group.

Because these five expressions can act as non-assertive elements, they also appear in non-assertive, non-negative contexts (Bosque 1980):

(89) *Antes de   hacer   nada . . .*
     before   do-Inf   anything
     'Before doing anything . . .'

(90) *El   mayor   espectáculo   nunca   visto.*
     the   greatest   show   ever   seen
     'The greatest show ever seen.'

The word *ningún* coexists with other non-assertive expression in Spanish (*algún*) in negative clauses. This, however, must follow rather than precede the noun, although *ningún* is replacing *algún* in modern Spanish even in this post-nominal position. Thus, Spanish speakers do not perceive a great difference today between *sin duda alguna, sin duda ninguna* and *sin ninguna duda,* all translated into English as 'without any doubt' or 'with no doubt'.

   Also notice that *nada* retains the negative meaning when it follows the prepositions *por* and *para* ('for'), even when they are in post-verbal position: *hacer algo para nada* ('do something for nothing, with no result'), *hacer algo por nada* ('do something for nothing, without expecting a reward').

As regards the meaning of negative polarity, we said in the introduction that it has different effects depending on the clause type in which it appears.

In declarative clauses negative polarity indicates that part or the whole of the content of the proposition is inaccurate. Which part of the clause is inaccurate depends entirely on the context. Examples (91–92) illustrate this.

(91) *Yo   no   lo   hice,   fue   Juan.*
     I   NEG   it   do-P-pfv-1s   be-P-pfv-3s   Juan
     'I didn't do it, it was Juan.'

(92) *No   he venido   a   Madrid   por   ti.*
     NEG   come-Pr-pf-1s   to   Madrid   for   you
     'I haven't come for you.'

In (91) only the Actor is presented as inaccurate, whereas in (92) it is the second Circumstantial that falls under the scope of negation. Notice that negation normally applies to the more specific components of the clause before affecting the more general parts, as in (92). As a rule, the more elaborate a clause is, the more difficult it is to negate the more central elements. The reason for this is that each component that is added to the clause provides more specific information about the process that is being depicted, thus contributing to presenting it as specific and therefore real. For instance, the English clause '*I did it*' is more general than '*I did it for her*' or '*I did it yesterday*', as these two are more informative. When we negate the more elaborate clauses (*I didn't do it for her*, *I didn't do it yesterday*) we tend to understand negation as applying to the most detailed part of the process, taking the more general part for granted. Speakers do not normally reach a great level of detail if they wish to negate central components of the transitivity structure such as the Actor or the Process itself. This explains why a message like '*I didn't do it for the money, it was Bill!*' sounds awkward in English. These general principles are valid for the Spanish language as well.

In interrogative clauses negative polarity has various effects. Negative wh-interrogatives are not fundamentally different from positive wh-interrogatives: they are aimed at obtaining information about the participants or circumstances for which the whole of the process specified by the clause turns out to be inaccurate. Consider example (93). A question like this serves to find out which human participants do not fit the description provided by the clause, just like a question such as *¿quién habla contigo?* ('who talks to you?') is used to discover which human participants fit that description.

(93) *Alicia,*   *¿contigo*   *quién*   *no*   *habla?*
     Alicia   with-you   who   NEG   speak-Pr-3s
     'Alicia, who doesn't talk to you?/is there anyone who doesn't talk
       to you?'

In contrast, negative yes–no interrogatives are rather different from positive yes–no interrogatives, as they are in fact the realization of biased polar questions, as we saw above.

In imperative clauses negative polarity gives rise to an interesting case of semantic ambiguity, illustrated by examples (94–95).

(94) *No*   *sigas*   *si*   *no*   *quieres.*
     NEG   go-on-Pr-Subj-2s   if   NEG   want-Pr-2s
     'Don't go on if you don't want to.'

(95) *No*   *me*   *molestes.*
     NEG   me   bother-Pr-Subj-2s
     'Don't bother me, don't interrupt me.'

The ambiguity emerges from the fact that negative imperative clauses allow for two readings, a characteristic that is shared by many expressions of modality, as we will see in section 4.4.3. The two readings are the following:

(i) The proposal indicated by the clause need not be performed by the addressee. This is what we find in (94). Here negation is understood as the absence of a wish on the speaker's part that the addressee carries out the proposal. Consequently, the imperative clause serves the purpose of releasing the addressee from an obligation, which is clearly indicated by the presence of an expression such as *si no quieres* ('if you don't want to').

(ii) The proposal indicated by the clause must not be performed by the addressee. This results when negation is interpreted as indicating that there is an explicit wish on the speaker's part that the addressee must not carry out the proposal, as we can see in (95). These clauses are used to utter prohibitions, which can be accompanied by expressions such as *por favor* ('please').

Thus, if imperative clauses normally convey the speaker's wish to affect the addressee's behaviour by indicating what s/he is required to do, a negative imperative can be interpreted as (a) the mere absence of such wish, or as

(b) the speaker's wish to affect the addressee's behaviour by indicating what s/he is required *not* to do.

4.3.2 Emphasizing polarity in Spanish

Both positive and negative polarity can be emphasized in Spanish, normally through the addition of an extra element in the realization of the clause. Emphasis through special intonation patterns is normally only possible with negative clauses, as there are very few elements that can receive a special stress in a positive clause in Spanish.[4]

Emphasis on negative polarity through grammatical means is achieved by adding intensifiers such as *en absoluto* (96) and *para nada*, which reinforce the meaning of the Negator.

(96) *No   es   un   problema   en absoluto.*
     NEG   be-Pr-3s   a   problem   at all
     'It's not a problem at all.'

Emphasis on positive polarity requires the insertion of the expressions *sí* or *sí que* immediately before the Predicator (97).

(97) *Yo   sí (que)   sé   la   respuest a.*
     I   know-Pr-1s   the   answer
     'I do know the answer.'

4.3.3 Tags

The tag element is realized in Spanish by a wide variety of particles, as the choice varies depending on regional use and personal preference. However, a feature shared across the Spanish-speaking world is that the tag element never echoes either the Subject or the Finite of the clause. Instead, the particles that realize the tag in Spanish tend to be single words closely connected with the meaning of polarity, such as *no* ('no') (98), *verdad* ('true') (99) and *sí* ('yes'). The first two are the most widespread in Spain, whereas *sí* is more commonly heard in Latin America. The tag element always appears in clause-final position and is pronounced with a rising tone.

(98) *Seguramente   saldréis   esta   noche   ¿no?*
     surely   go out-F-2p   this   night   TAG
     'You're going out tonight, aren't you?'

(99) *No   quiere decir   que   sean   mejores   que   los más . . .*
      NEG   mean-Pr-3s   that   be-Pr-Subj-3p   better   than   the more
      antiguos,   ¿verdad?
      old   TAG
      'It doesn't mean that they are better than the older ones, does it?'

4.3.4 Negation transfer

Spanish is affected by the phenomenon known as 'negation transfer', illustrated by the example (100).

(100) *No   quiero   ir.*
       NEG   want-Pr-1s   go-Inf
       'I don't want to go.'

This sentence can be used in Spanish to mean that it is false that the speaker wants to carry out the process, without implying that s/he flatly rejects to do it. On that reading, the speaker simply tries to convey the idea that s/he has no special interest in going, or that s/he is not the one that has the wish to see the process implemented. However, this is not the usual meaning of example (100). Most often, speakers use it to express an active desire not to implement the process. There is no alternative to example (100), but a clause like *No quiero que vayas* ('I don't want you to go') has the less common *Quiero que no vayas* ('I want you not to go') as a semantic equivalent in modern Spanish. Based on equivalences like this, the phenomenon has often been defined as a case of 'negation transfer', although we can see it actually stems from ambiguity: negation can be interpreted as a mere negation of the clause or as an assertion of the opposite. For this reason, negation transfer takes place when the meaning of the clause can be graded, thus allowing ambiguous interpretations for negation. The meaning of the verb *gustar* ('like'), for instance, offers two different interpretations when it is negated: it can indicate the absence of the liking (i.e. indifference) or the opposite of liking (i.e. disliking).

Not surprisingly, languages tend to show negation transfer for roughly the same kinds of processes, namely mental processes of reaction and expressions that realize modal meanings of probability and willingness. In section 4.4 we will see more examples of negation transfer in connection with modal expressions.

4.4 Spanish MODALITY systems

As we pointed out in section 4.1, MODALITY systems serve to indicate various degrees between positive and negative polarity. They are divided into

four groups depending on their semantic contribution to the clause: *probability* and *usuality* (found in propositions), and *willingness* and *obligation* (found in proposals).

4.4.1 Probability

We saw in section 4.1 that probability covers those modal meanings concerning the speaker's commitment to the validity of the proposition contained in the clause. The expressions that realize probability in Spanish can be said to derive from three main sources:

- Modal verbs, which often also indicate obligation.
- Adjectives, adverbs, verbs or nouns related to the senses of 'certainty' or 'probability/possibility'.
- Verb forms normally associated to the expression of the temporal relation of posteriority, namely the Future and Conditional tenses.

In the following paragraphs we will describe the most highly conventionalized and common expressions used by Spanish speakers. It should be borne in mind, however, that languages have an enormous potential for the expression of meanings through more or less original constructions. In Spanish, metaphorical realizations of probability normally involve existential or possessive processes concerning probabilities measured in terms of quantity or size, as illustrated by examples (101–102).

(101) *Es*　　　*su prueba fundamental*　　　*y*　　　*tiene*
　　　　be-Pr-3s　his challenge fundamental　and　have-Pr-3s
　　　　grandes posibilidades　　　*de*　　　*ganarla*
　　　　big possibilities　　　　　of　　win-it-Inf
　　　　'It's his most important challenge and chances are he'll make it.'

(102) *Había*　　　　　　*muchas probabilidades*　　*de*　　*que*　　*alguien*
　　　　there-be-P-ipfv-3s　many probabilities　　of　　that　someone
　　　　estuviese tocando　　　*el*　　*órgano.*
　　　　play-P-Prog-Subj-3s　the　organ
　　　　'It was very probable that somebody was playing the organ.'

Probability with maximal strength, that is, near the positive pole, is conveyed in Spanish mainly through the modal verb *tener* (103) – which is also used to express obligation – and the expression *seguro que* (104), which is slightly more colloquial. The latter derives from a relational process of the type *es seguro que* ('it is certain that').

(103) *Tiene   que   haber sido   eso,   sin duda.*
       have-Pr-3s   to   be-Inf-pf   that,   without doubt
       'It must have been that, no doubt about it.'

(104) *Seguro   que   algo   se lleva   entre manos.*
       certain   that   something   carry-Pr-3s   between hands
       'You can bet he's up to something.'

The fact that the same modal verbs usually express both probability and obligation provides a further example of how the grammar of Spanish is sensitive to the distinction between proposition and proposal, with the effect that ambiguity seldom obtains in these clauses. Since obligation is a modality type that applies to proposals rather than propositions, the process in a clause containing obligation tends to receive a perfective interpretation with dynamic situations. In contrast, perfectivity is normally incompatible with a proposition about the present, and consequently also with probability. As a result of this, a dynamic situation in the Infinitive form imposes the obligation meaning of the modal verb, whereas a Continuous Infinitive is associated with the probability meaning, as examples (105–106) show.

(105) *Tiene   que   venir.*
       have-Pr-3s   to   come-Inf
       'He must come.' (obligation)

(106) *Tiene   que   estar viniendo.*
       have-Pr-3s   to   come-Inf-Prog
       'He must be coming.' (probability)

Tener que cannot be combined with negative polarity when it indicates probability of maximal strength. Consequently, it creates an asymmetry in the modal system of Spanish that must be compensated. In order to convey a similar degree of strength near the negative pole, Spanish speakers normally use the verb *poder* or any other construction related to 'possibility/probability' (107).

(107) *Qué tontería,   no   puede   haberse enterado   de nada.*
       what nonsense   NEG   can-Pr-3s   find-out-Inf-pf   of nothing
       'Nonsense! He can't have noticed anything.'

Seguro que can combine with both negative and positive polarity, although negative polarity can only be marked on the main process (108). In other words, it does not allow negation transfer.

(108) *Seguro   que   no   ha leído   a nadie.*
       certain   that   NEG   read-Pr-pf-3s   nobody
       'I'm sure he hasn't read any of these authors' works.'

Moving down the scale of probability we find a group of expressions with a very similar degree of strength. These are *deber (de)*[5] ('must'), *seguramente* ('very probably'), *probablemente* ('probably') and *es probable* ('it is probable'), as well as the Future and Conditional tenses employed with a modal rather than temporal meaning.

   Deber (de) is, just like *tener*, a modal verb also used to express obligation in Spanish. Whereas it is doubtful whether they possess different strength when used as the realization of obligation, it is clear that *deber* possesses weaker strength when realizing probability. This is because *tener* denotes in Spanish that the speaker regards the proposition as the only possible inference that can be drawn from the evidence available, whereas *deber (de)* lacks this sense of exclusion.

   Unlike *tener, deber* does not lose any of its strength when combined with negative polarity. However, this verb is normally affected by negation transfer, as can be seen in example (109).

(109) *Entre otras cosas,   porque   no   debe   saber*
       among other things   because   NEG   must-Pr-3s   know-Inf
       quién   era   Aristóteles.
       who   be-P-ipfv-3s   Aristotle
       'Among other things, because he probably doesn't know who
          Aristotle was.'

The Future and Conditional tenses are commonly used in Spanish to express probability of a similar strength to that of *deber,* especially in the oral language. The modal use of these tenses is characterized by the loss of the temporal relation of posteriority signalled by the verbal group. Thus, the Simple Future expresses probability about a proposition in the present instead of the future (110); the Simple Conditional, about the past instead of the future of the past (111); the Future Perfect, about the past of the present instead of the future of the past of the present (112), etc.

(110)   *Estará   enfermo.*
        be-F-3s   ill
        'Maybe he's ill.'

(111)   *Estaría   enfermo.*
        be-C-3s   ill
        'Maybe he was ill.'

(112)   *Habrá estado   enfermo.*
        be-F-pf-3s   ill
        'Perhaps he's been ill.'

The Adjuncts *seguramente* and *probablemente* ('probably) indicate very similar strength, in spite of the fact that the former derives from the noun *seguro* ('certain, safe'). Consequently, *seguramente* is not synonymous with *de manera segura* ('in a certain way, for sure') in modern Spanish. Like most Adjuncts, they have little impact on the structure of the clause, and they are rather flexible as for the position they may occupy. Also like most probability Adjuncts in Spanish, they allow the speaker to choose the Subjunctive forms of the verb to slightly decrease the strength of the modalization (113–114).

(113)   *Probablemente   **es**   porque   ya   soy   mayor.*
        probably   be-Pr-3s because   already be-Pr-1s   adult
        'That's probably because I'm not a child any more.'

(114)   *Probablemente   **sea**   porque   hoy   es   18 de Julio.*
        probably   be-Pr-Subj-3s because   today is   18 July
        'That's probably because today is 18 July.'

The last expression we will consider in this group is *es probable que* ('it is probable that'), which downranks the main process to make it act as the Carrier in a relational process. Like most adjectives connected with the expression of probability in Spanish, it requires the use of the Subjunctive forms, and like all adjectives it allows all kinds of modifications to significantly alter the habitual strength it possesses, as can be seen in examples (115–117).

(115)   *Es   probable   que   venga.*
        be-Pr-3s   probable   that   come-Pr-Subj-3s
        'It's likely that he will come.'

(116) *Es   muy   probable   que   venga.*
      be-Pr-3s   very   probable   that   come-Pr-Subj-3s
      'It's very likely that he will come.'

(117) *Es   poco   probable   que   venga.*
      be-Pr-3s   little   probable   that   come-Pr-Subj-3s
      'It's not very likely that he will come.'

This expression allows negation transfer, but the absence of transfer is just as common. The selection of one of the two realizations is guided by the needs of the discourse and the bias taken, and Spanish speakers often use both at the same time – thus producing negations that cancel each other – in order to obtain a certain rhetoric effect. As a result of this, examples (118–120) can be said to be roughly equivalent as far as strength in probability is concerned.

(118) *Es   probable   que   no   suceda.*
      be-Pr-3s   probable   that   NEG   happen-Pr-Subj-3s
      'It's likely that it will not happen.'

(119) *No   es   probable   que   suceda.*
      NEG   be-Pr-3s probable   that   happen-Pr-Subj-3s
      'It's not likely that it will happen.'

(120) *No   es   improbable   que   no   suceda.*
      NEG   be-Pr-3s improbable   that   NEG   happen-Pr-Subj-3s
      'It's not unlikely that it will not happen.'

One step further down the scale of strength of probability one finds expressions such as *tal vez* ('perhaps, maybe'), *quizá* or *quizás* ('perhaps, maybe'), *posiblemente* ('possibly'), *puede que* ('perhaps, maybe') and *es posible que* ('it is possible that'). The first three are Adjuncts that do not significantly alter the overall structure of the clause, as examples (121–123) show, although they are often placed in initial position.

(121) *Tal vez   hemos intentado   abarcar   demasiadas cosas.*
      maybe   try-Pr-pf-1p   cover-Inf   too-many things.
      'Maybe we have tried to cover too many things.'

(122) *La   Unión Soviética es   quizá   el ejemplo   más visible*
      the Soviet Union   be-Pr-3s perhaps   the example   most visible

> de   este conservadurismo   de Estado.
> of   this conservatism   of state
> 'The Soviet Union is perhaps the clearest example of such conserva-
>   tism of State.'

(123) *Posiblemente   tenía   razón.*
      possibly   have-P-ipfv-3s right
      'Perhaps he was right.'

These three expressions allow the speaker to choose the Subjunctive forms of the verb (124), with the effect of slightly lowering the strength of the probability meaning.

(124) *Tal vez   tuviera   razón.*
      perhaps   have-P-Subj-3s   right
      'Perhaps he was right.'

In addition, *posiblemente*, like all Adjuncts derived from adjectives, admits modification with the aim of increasing – but not decreasing – the strength normally associated to the expression (*muy posiblemente*, 'very possibly').

The construction *puede que* is formed with the modal verb *poder*, primarily used in Spanish to indicate possibility and ability. Although it can appear within the verbal group (125) – as is the case of English and many other languages – it is more often used in this fixed expression which always occupies the initial position in the clause (126).

(125) *El poema   pudo   haber sido escrito   en Granada.*
      the poem   can-P-pfv-3s write-Inf-pf-Pass   in Granada
      'The poem may have been written in Granada.'

(126) *Puede que   el referendum   sea   una buena solución.*
      perhaps   the referendum be-Pr-Subj-3s   a good solution
      'Perhaps the referendum will be a good solution.'

Although originating from the same modal verb, these two constructions have different properties. Example (125), for instance, does not admit negation transfer without a significant change of meaning. Thus, if we wish to preserve the weak strength of probability in (125) with negative polarity, the Negator must be placed after the modal verb (*El poema pudo no haber sido escrito en Granada*, 'the poem may not have been written in Granada'). Otherwise, the strength of probability increases dramatically: *El poema no*

pudo haber sido escrito en Granada means 'the poem cannot have been written in Granada'. *Puede que* is incompatible with negation (the sequence **no puede que* is unacceptable in Spanish), and so negation transfer does not take place in examples like (126). In addition, the use of the Subjunctive forms is obligatory with this construction, and consequently this cannot be treated as a speaker's choice to modulate the strength of probability.

Es posible que ('it is possible that') has a greater impact on the structure of the clause, as it forces the main process to act as a participant (the Carrier) in the transitivity structure of a higher-level clause (127). In addition, this construction admits modification with the purpose of increasing (but not decreasing) the normal strength of the expression (128).

(127)   *Es*   *posible*   *que*   *tenga*   *algún efecto.*
        be-Pr-3s   possible   that   have-Pr-Subj-3s   some effect
        'It may have some effect.'

(128)   *Es*   *muy posible*   *que*   *trabaje*   *con ellos.*
        be-Pr-3s   very possible   that   work-Pr-Subj-3s   with them.
        'It's likely that he's working with them.'

This construction also demands the use of the Subjunctive forms in the verbal group of the rankshifted process, and so one cannot describe it as real choice by the speaker, but rather as a formal requirement imposed by the grammar. Negation transfer is not permitted with this construction (129), as *no es posible que* carries different strength than its positive counterpart as far as probability is concerned. As a matter of fact, it functions as the equivalent of *tener que* ('have to, must') on the negative side of the scale of probability (130).

(129)   *Es*   *posible*   *que*   *no*   *hubiera ganado*   *nada.*
        be-Pr-3s   possible   that   NEG   win-P-pf-Subj-1s   nothing
        'Perhaps I wouldn't have won anything.'

(130)   *Estoy soñando.*   *No*   *es*   *posible*   *que*   *sea*   *verdad.*
        I'm dreaming.   NEG   is   possible   that   be-Pr-Subj-3s   true
        'I'm dreaming. It can't be true.'

The weakest expression of probability in Spanish is realized by *podría*, which can be morphologically described as the Conditional tense of the verb *poder* ('can, be able to'). It is in fact so weak that it is employed in contexts biased

towards the opposite polarity to convey the idea that the polarity chosen for the clause is just a possibility to be taken into account (131). The weak strength of this expression can be slightly strengthened by the expression *bien* ('as well'), as in example (132).

(131) *Esta zanja,   en realidad,   podría   ser   la tumba de Forcat.*
       this ditch   in fact   can-C-3s   be-Inf   the grave of Forcat
       'In fact this ditch could be Forcat's grave.'

(132) *Sonidos distorsionados y secos   que   bien   podrían   corresponder*
       sounds distorted and sharp   that   as well can-C-3p   correspond
       a la acción   de cerrar   puertas, cajones y maletas
       with the action   of closing   doors, drawers and suitcases
       'Sharp and distorted sounds that might well be doors closing, draw-
          ers and suitcases.'

Negative polarity can only be marked on the main process, that is, this expression does not permit negation transfer, as example (133) illustrates. If a Negator is placed before the modal verb, a meaning different to that of probability is obtained. In example (154), for instance, the verb *podría* indicates the meaning of ability in an hypothetical, non-real scenario.

(133) *Admite   que   podría   no   estar   en el Tour.*
       admit-Pr-3s that   can-C-3s   NEG   be-Inf   in the Tour
       'He admits he might not enter Tour.'

(134) *Si   no,   me iría.   No   podría   trabajar.*
       if   not   leave-C-1s   NEG   can-C-1s   work-Inf
       'Otherwise I'd leave. I wouldn't be able to work.'

4.4.2 Usuality

The other modal meaning applied to propositions is usuality, which introduces a quantifying element that specifies the proportion of cases or occasions on which the polarity of the proposition is appropriate, as examples (135–138) illustrate.

(135) *Está cansado* ('[He/she] is tired')
(136) *Siempre está cansado* ('[He/she] is always tired')
(137) *A menudo está cansado* ('[He/she] is often tired')
(138) *A veces está cansado* ('[He/she] is sometimes tired')

In (135) the speaker includes no reference to usuality, and consequently the proposition is understood as having positive polarity at all times. This is very similar to adding an element of maximal usuality like *siempre* ('always') (136). In fact, there is little difference between maximal (or minimal) usuality and the absence of this type of modality when the speaker is talking about habitual situations. Sentences free of usuality, however, can also be interpreted as referring to a specific time, rather than a habit. For this reason, (135) is understood as a statement about a specific time in the present. This is not possible in (136), as usuality is only applicable to general or habitual propositions.

If we read examples (136–139) it is evident that the clauses move gradually away from the positive pole. This is due to the different degrees of strength of the expressions of usuality present in each clause.

Usuality in Spanish is predominantly expressed through Adjuncts, which can be realized by the following:

- specialized adverbs, such as *siempre* ('always') or *nunca* ('never');
- prepositional phrases (139) involving nouns such as *frecuencia* or *asiduidad* ('frequency');
- nominal groups containing the noun *vez* ('time, occasion') (140).

Less often, usuality is realized in Spanish within the verbal group (141) through the insertion of the verbs *soler* or *acostumbrar* ('to have as a custom, to do or occur normally'), the latter being restricted to formal styles.

(139) *En   Madrid   llueve   con   frecuencia.*
      in   Madrid   rain-Pr-3s   with   frequency
      'It often rains in Madrid.'

(140) *Pocas   veces   he sido   tan   feliz.*
      few   times   be-Pr-pf-1s   so   happy
      'Few times have I been so happy.'

(141) *Juan   no   suele   llegar   tarde.*
      Juan   NEG   be-in-the-habit-Pr-3s   arrive-Inf   late
      'Normally Juan is not late.'

As is the norm in European languages, the expressions of maximal strength in Spanish are different for positive and negative polarity. Thus, the adverb *siempre* ('always') indicates maximal strength for positive polarity, and *nunca* or *jamás* represent the maximal strength for negative polarity. When *siempre*

is used in a negative clause, this adverb simply diminishes its strength, being the equivalent of 'sometimes' or 'often'. *Nunca* and *jamás* are incompatible with positive polarity. Due to the peculiar development of negative words in Spanish pointed out in section 4.3.1, these two adverbs act as Adjuncts that already incorporate the Negator when they precede the verbal group (142), while they are simply non-assertive expressions (thus requiring an explicit Negator in the clause) when they follow the verbal group (143).

(142) *Papá   nunca   se equivoca.*
       Dad   never   be-wrong-Pr-3s
       'Dad is never wrong.'

(143) *Un   jefe   no   se equivoca   nunca.*
       a   boss   NEG   be-wrong-Pr-3s   never
       'A boss is never wrong.'

Both *jamás* and *nunca* indicate maximal strength, but they differ in that *nunca*, just like *siempre*, can be refined through modification to slightly diminish the strength it normally carries (144), whereas *jamás* does not admit this.

(144) *En la naturaleza,   sin embargo,   casi nunca   ocurre   así.*
       in the nature   however   almost never   happens   like this
       'In the wild, however, it hardly ever occurs like this.'

In addition, *jamás* can accompany *nunca* with the purpose of emphasizing the meaning of maximal strength (145).

(145) *Nunca jamás   he tenido   problemas   con ningún paciente.*
       Never ever   have-Pr-pf-1s   problems   with no patient
       'Never ever have I had problems with a patient.'

All the other expressions of usuality in Spanish, which express lower-than-maximal strength, can be said to be symmetrical, since they appear in both positive and negative clauses. Some common Spanish expressions of high strength are *a menudo* ('often'), *soler* and *acostumbrar*, *con frecuencia* ('frequently'), *frecuentemente* ('frequently') and *habitualmente* ('habitually'). Some frequent expressions of median strength are *ocasionalmente* ('occasionally'), *a veces* ('sometimes') and *de vez en cuando* ('from time to time'). Modern Spanish also possesses some expressions of high strength that are

exclusively used with negative polarity, such as *rara vez* (146) and *raramente* ('seldom'). Nevertheless, these are more often found in the formal language. For less formal situations, Spanish speakers normally resort to the combination of negative polarity and some expression of high strength.

(146)   *Las ideas*   *rara vez*   *surgen*   *por inspiración divina.*
          the ideas   rarely   spring-up-Pr-3p   out of inspiration divine
          'Ideas rarely emerge out of divine inspiration.'

Most of the expressions of usuality employed in Spanish can be modified to alter the strength they normally carry. We have seen that the adverbs of maximal strength (*siempre, nunca*) can be slightly weakened by introducing an element that replaces the idea of completion inherent to these adverbs by one of near completion, such as *casi* ('almost') or *prácticamente* ('practically, virtually'). Adverbs and highly conventionalized prepositional phrases (*a menudo*, for instance) of high strength can be intensified or weakened by modifiers that normally accompany adjectives, such as *muy* ('very') or *poco* ('little'): *muy a menudo* ('very often'), *poco frecuentemente* ('little frequently'). However, expressions of median strength can only be weakened, and this is done with particles that normally intensify the strength of usuality. Thus, *muy rara vez* or *muy de vez en cuando* ('very seldom, very infrequently') are weaker than *rara vez* and *de vez en cuando*.

Prepositional phrases and nominal groups expressing the modal meaning of usuality are intensified or weakened through the usual quantification found with nouns: *con mucha/poca frecuencia* ('with much/little frequency'), *muchas/pocas veces* ('many/few times'). As a matter of fact, quantification by itself can take on the meaning of usuality in Spanish. A sentence like *Juan come mucho* ('Juan eats a lot') may refer to proper quantity ('he eats a lot of food') or to frequency ('he eats very often'). Such ambiguity disappears with processes that are not compatible with quantification: a sentence like *Juan va mucho/poco al teatro* ('Juan goes to the theatre a lot/little') can only be interpreted as referring to usuality.

A common metaphorical expression of usuality in Spanish consists in presenting the process as the Carrier of a relational process. The Attribute ascribed to the Carrier represents a quality denoting usuality, as in example (147).

(147)   *Es   muy frecuente   que   el accidente   pase   desapercibido.*
          is   very frequent   that   the accident   pass-Pr-Subj-3s   unnoticed
          'The accident often goes unnoticed.'

Such constructions are very flexible and allow speakers to express complex meanings such as usuality changing over time, as illustrated by example (148), which cannot be easily expressed with Adjuncts in Spanish.

(148) *Es   cada vez más habitual   que los diarios*   dediquen
       is   each time more habitual   that the journals devote-Pr-Subj-3p
       su foto de portada   a Sarajevo,   a Chechenia   o   a
       their photo of front page to Sarajevo   to Chechnya   or   to
       la   última   masacre   de   Ruanda.
       the latest   massacre   of   Rwanda
       'Journals more and more often fill the front page with pictures of
          Sarajevo, Chechnya or the latest massacre in Rwanda.'

4.4.3 Obligation

Obligation is the modal meaning that allows speakers to modulate the degree of forcefulness they add to the proposal.

Since obligation is a type of modality that applies to proposals, clauses that contain a meaning of obligation in Spanish present different temporal and aspectual properties from those that contain usuality or probability. As we have seen, proposals normally force a perfective interpretation of a dynamic process in the present, and this is only acceptable with propositions in very specific communicative settings (such as real-time commentaries, story telling, performative actions) (Downing and Locke 1992: 357). This characteristic allows us to recognize which of the two possible values of a modal verb – obligation or probability – is more likely to be present in a given clause in Spanish. Thus, the simple Infinitive of a dynamic verb typically denotes perfectivity, which normally combines with a meaning of obligation (as in *Juan debe venir* 'Juan must come'); in contrast, a progressive Infinitive depicts an imperfective situation, which is more often associated with probability rather than obligation (as in *Juan debe estar viniendo* 'Juan must be coming').

Also related to this characteristic that separates modulation from modalization is a restriction affecting both obligation and willingness as far as realization is concerned. Unlike probability and usuality, obligation and willingness cannot be realized only through the insertion of Adjuncts in Spanish. This is because proposals present a temporal–aspectual profile (they depict perfective processes projected onto the future) that cannot be easily expressed through the Indicative forms of the Spanish verb, at

least in the present time. For this reason, the realization of modulation in Spanish normally requires some verbal component that alters the normal temporal–aspectual interpretation of processes.

After this clarification, we can consider the most common realizations of obligation in Spanish. We have seen that the Imperative form of the verb realizes the meanings of command (*Ven aquí* 'Come here') and prohibition (*No te muevas* 'Do not move'), which can be taken as the positive and negative poles in the scale of strength of obligation.

Spanish is somehow unusual in comparison with other European languages in that it requires a special form of the verb – taken from the Present Subjunctive paradigm – to produce a prohibition. For instance, the command *Callaos* ('be quiet you all') is realized by an Imperative form, whereas the corresponding prohibition *No os calléis* ('Don't be quiet') employs a Subjunctive form.

The fact that modern Spanish only has two Imperative forms does not mean that maximal strength of obligation can only be expressed when directly addressing the person who must carry out the proposal. Commands and prohibitions about third persons are routinely produced by Spanish speakers, using verb forms borrowed from the Present Subjunctive tense, as in example (149).

(149)   *Que*   *venga*   *a*   *verme*   *ahora*   *mismo.*
        that   come-Pr-Subj-3s   to   see-me-Inf   now   right
        'He must come and see me right now.'

The mandatory presence of the subordinating conjunction *que* ('that') in initial position suggests that examples like (149) probably derive from clauses in which there was a main process denoting the speaker's wish, such as 'I want'. This, however, is unnecessary in modern Spanish, and example (149) is felt by Spanish speakers to contain a command just like imperative clauses.

A lesser strength of obligation can be achieved by construing the proposal as a responsibility on the part of some participant in the clause. Crucially, the proposal is then presented as sanctioned or supported by some implicit social convention or sense of what must be done. This contrasts with maximal strength constructions, which present the obligation as simply emanating from the speaker's wish. Such meaning is typically realized in Spanish by the modal verbs *tener que, deber(de)*[6] and *haber de* (150).

(150) *Tengo que*
       Debo   *irme*
       He de
       must-Pr-1s   leave-Inf
       'I must leave.'

Of these, *tener que* is by far the most commonly used, as it is appropriate in a wider range of settings. *Deber* is slightly more formal, while *haber de* is almost restricted to the written language in modern Spanish. A further difference between these verbs is the result they produce when they are combined with negative polarity. *Deber* and *haber de* express roughly the same strength on the negative side of the scale, that is, they convey something similar to a prohibition (151). However, *tener que* simply diminishes the strength it normally conveys (152) to the point that it expresses 'absence of obligation' (Lyons 1977), a meaning also realized by weaker expressions of obligation in Spanish.

(151)   *debo*
       No   *irme*
                  he de
       NEG   must-Pr-1s   leave
       'I must not leave.'

(152) *No*   *tengo que*   *irme*
       NEG   must-Pr-1s   leave
       'I don't' have to leave.'

One of these expressions is the verb *necesitar* ('need'), although its use to indicate 'absence of obligation' is far less common in Spanish than in English. Much more habitual is the construction *no hace falta que* (lit. 'it is not missing that, it is not required that'), particularly in the oral language. It always occupies the initial position in the clause and it presents the peculiarity that it is asymmetrical: its positive counterpart (*hace falta*) is virtually restricted to nominal participants (as in *hace falta dinero* 'money is needed, required') in present-day Spanish.

Related to the verb *haber de* is the highly frequent expression *hay que*, which indicates a type of impersonal obligation with no explicit mention of the participants responsible for carrying out the proposal, as example (153) illustrates.

(153) *Hay que*   *derogar*   *esta*   *ley.*
       must   repeal-Inf   this   law
       'This law must be repealed.'

Common metaphorical realizations in Spanish construe the notion of obligation as an entity or as a quality. Obligation seen as an entity is realized by a noun like *obligación* ('obligation') or some other related concept, and it is normally construed as the Possessed in a possessive process (154), where the Possessor represents the participant affected by the obligation, or as a state in which the Carrier finds him/herself (155).

(154) *Los testigos*   *tienen*   *la obligación de*   *decir*   *la verdad*
       the witnesses   have-Pr-3p   the obligation of   say   the truth
       'Witnesses have the obligation to tell the truth.'

(155) *creo*   *que*   *estoy*   *en la obligación de*   *hacerlo*
       think-Pr-1s   that   be-Pr-1s   in the obligation of   do-it-Inf
       'I think I must do it.'

Obligation seen as a quality, normally related to the notion of 'obligatory' or similar, functions as the Attribute of a relational process, where the Carrier is the proposal – which is often nominalized in Spanish – and the participant concerned by the obligation acts as the Beneficiary (156).

(156) *Su uso*   *es*   *obligatorio*   *tanto para el conductor*   *como*
       its use   be-Pr-3s   obligatory   both for the driver   and
       para   *el*   *ocupante*   *del*   *asiento*   *delantero*
       for   the   occupier   of-the   seat   front
       'Its use [seatbelt] is obligatory for both the driver and the person
          sitting next to him/her.'

Little grammaticalized constructions such as these preserve a rather logical and intuitive relationship with negative polarity, as the meaning of negation depends on the position occupied by the Negator. Thus, if one negates the whole process, we are in fact negating the obligation component, thus obtaining the meaning of 'absence of obligation'. This can be seen if we negate example (155): *No estoy en la obligación de hacerlo* ('I don't need to do it'). Conversely, if negation is applied to the proposal, the result is close to prohibition, as can be seen if we negate the proposal in (155): *Estoy en la obligación de no hacerlo* ('I mustn't do it').

There are some obligation Adjuncts in Spanish that indicate strength similar to that of *deber* and *tener*, but as we said before, their sole presence is not enough to add obligation to the meaning of a clause. Instead, they can only reinforce the meaning of obligation contributed by a modal verb (157).

(157) *por tanto,   su política ha de   ser obligatoriamente policéntrica.*
       consequently, his policy must-Pr-3s be obligatorily   polycentric
       'Consequently, his policy must necessarily be polycentric.'

Moving further down the scale of obligation, we find clauses in which the proposal is made slightly weaker by construing it as a necessity imposed by the circumstances or the way the world functions, rather than the moral responsibility deriving from the sense of what must be done. In other words, any sense of duty is removed from the obligation. The typical realizations in Spanish are, like in most languages, related to the sense of 'necessity', and they include primarily the verb *necesitar* (158) and its derived concepts: the adjective *necesario* and the noun *necesidad*. In addition, many evaluative qualities can be used to convey a similar meaning in Spanish, such as *importante, fundamental, crucial* (159).

(158) *las escuelas   necesitan   desarrollar   nuevas estrategias educativas*
       the schools   need-Pr-3p   develop   new strategies pedagogical
       'Schools need to develop new pedagogical strategies.'

(159) *es   importante   que   el partido del Gobierno   esté*
       is   important   that   the party of-the government   be-Pr-Subj-3s
       unido
       united
       'It's important for the governing party to stay united.'

Metaphorical realizations follow the same patterns described above regarding the nouns and adjectives of 'obligation'. Thus, the noun *necesidad* appears in possessive processes (*tener la necesidad de* 'to have the necessity of') or relational processes describing a situation in which a participant finds her/himself (*verse en la necesidad de* 'see oneself in the need of'). This latter is particularly common with the expression *verse* ('see oneself'), widely used in Spanish to describe states out of the Carrier's control. This makes sense if we remember that necessity removes all kind of responsibility or control from the participants.

The results produced by negative polarity in combination with all these constructions of necessity are diverse. The verb *necesitar* can only express absence of necessity, and negation transfer is mandatory. Thus, example (158) could only be transformed into *las escuelas no necesitan desarrollar nuevas estrategias educativas*, meaning 'schools do not need to develop new pedagogical strategies'. The constructions involving nouns and adjectives allow the speaker to negate different parts of the clause (*no es necesario que* 'it's not

necessary to', *es necesario que no* 'it's necessary not to') in order to express the meanings of 'absence of necessity' or 'necessity applied to a negative proposal' respectively.

We finish this section with the expressions that carry the weakest strength of obligation in Spanish. These convey the meaning of advice or suggestion, and the most common realization in Spanish is the Conditional tense of the verb *deber*, which retains its weak strength when combined with negative polarity (160).

(160) *Y   tú   no   deberías   beber   más.*
        and   you   NEG   must-C-2s   drink-Inf   more
        'And you shouldn't drink any more.'

As a matter of fact, any verb in the Conditional tense has the potential to convey this modal meaning if the speaker is present as a participant in the clause. Such metaphorical constructions are obviously derived from clauses introduced by the string *si (yo) fuese/fuera tú* ('if I were you'), which is often left out (161).

(161) - *Voy a pedir   que   venga   la policía del Ministerio.*
        ask-Pr-going-1s   that   come-Pr-Subj-3s   the police of-the ministry
        – *Yo   esperaría   un   poco.*
        I   wait-C-1s   a   little
        '– I'm going to call the ministerial police.'
        '– I'd wait a while.'

4.4.4 Willingness

We defined willingness above as the modal meaning that describes one of the participant's inclination to carry out the proposal contained in the clause, ranging from a high degree of inclination to comply with the proposal – near the positive pole – to a high degree of inclination not to comply with the proposal – near the negative pole.

Willingness is certainly the least grammaticalized of the four main modal meanings we have examined so far in Spanish. The realization of willingness is restricted in this language to lexical verbs denoting a concept similar to 'want' and some adjectives or nouns derived from them.

By far the most common verb that indicates willingness in Spanish is *querer* ('want'), which has no related noun or adjective. However, other verbs often present derivational members, such as *desear* ('to wish'), *deseo* ('wish') and *deseoso* ('anxious').

Verbs of willingness always build a complex verbal group in Spanish, as they accompany the main process, which takes the form of the Infinitive, as can be seen in example (162).

(162) *Quiero   irme.*
      want-Pr-1s   leave-Inf
      'I want to leave.'

Adjectives are always used in some type of relational process where the proposal appears as part of the Attribute (163).

(163) *Sin embargo,   estaba   deseoso   de   contribuir   en la lucha*
      however   be-P-ipfv-3s   eager   of   contribute   in the fight
      contra   los   nazis.
      against   the   Nazis
      'However, he was eager to contribute in the fight against the Nazis.'

As for nouns, they normally appear in either possessive or mental processes acting as the Possessed or the Phenomenon (164).

(164) *Tiene*
                    deseos   de   morir.
      Siente
      have/feel-Pr-3s   wishes   of   die-Inf
      'He wants to die.'

The degree of strength is normally indicated by the speaker through a process of lexical selection, as there are expressions available showing different intensity of willingness as part of their meaning. Thus, *desear* is slightly stronger than *querer*, although the Continuous form of *desear* – *estar deseando* – is frequently used to indicate even higher strength.

An interesting property of verbs of willingness is that they are all affected by negation transfer. As a consequence, a clause like *No quiero ir* ('I don't want to go') is ambiguous as far as its location on the scale of strength is concerned. The most usual interpretation in Spanish is that it indicates exactly the same strength as *Quiero ir* ('I want to go'), but on the negative side of the scale. In other words, it denotes negative willingness. Alternatively, it is also possible to obtain a reading by which the negation simply diminishes the strength of positive willingness. The result is absent of willingness, which implies that the Senser has no particular wish (either positive or negative) that the proposal be accomplished. This meaning, however, is far less frequent, as it is only required in very specific contexts, and even

then speakers deem it necessary to emphasize that their intended meaning is not negative willingness. This is achieved through expressions such as *no es que* ('it is not the case that, it's not as if'): *no es que no quiera ir* ('it's not as if I don't want to go').

4.5 English–Spanish interpersonal contrasts

The differences that can be observed between Spanish and English concerning the interpersonal resources of the clause mainly involve different realizations for roughly the same general communicative goals. This is partly due to the fact that interpersonal meanings represent essential functions of language: it is to be expected that every human language contains resources to make statements, ask questions, give orders and choose between positive and negative polarity. Historical as well as cultural factors are probably also responsible for these fundamental similarities. Spanish and English are, after all, relatives descending from a common ancestor – Indo-European – and the inherited similarities between the two languages have been reinforced through a history of intense cultural contacts and mutual influence both in Europe and the Americas.

However, one can find interesting divergences between English and Spanish not only in the realizational strategies, but also in the more delicate choices of certain interpersonal systems, as we will see below.

In the system of MOOD, for example, the options available within the 'imperative' option are different between English and Spanish. While Spanish distinguishes between 'personal' and 'impersonal' options, and also between 'formal' and 'informal' ones, English does not have these distinctions. This is probably due to its poorer inflectional system which does not allow the expression of these differences in the verb morphology.

Another prominent dissimilarity between English and Spanish is the role assigned to the Mood element to mark the mood type of the clause. This is all-important in English, since the relationships established between a given ordering of the Subject relative to the Finite and the various mood types of the clause play a crucial role in the grammar of this language.

This is in sharp contrast to what we find in Spanish. To start with, Spanish belongs to the group of languages that routinely do without a verbalized Subject in the clause if the relevant participant is recoverable from the context. Under these circumstances, it is very unlikely that the position of the Subject may be used as an indicator of the clausal mood. Furthermore, we have seen that even when there is a Subject present in the Spanish clause,

this can be placed before or after the verbal group in both interrogative and declarative clauses. In addition, a post-verbal position of the Subject in the Spanish clause does not imply that the verb immediately precedes the Subject, as in English. As we have seen, the Subject can appear following Complements and even Adjuncts in the Spanish clause.

All this suggests that the ordering of elements in the Spanish clause is mainly guided by textual needs, and only marginally by the need to mark the mood of the clause. This becomes particularly evident when we compare projected questions in both languages. In English there is a systematic change in the position of the Subject reflecting the shift from the interrogative to the declarative mood, as can be observed in (165–166):

(165) Where's the station?
(166) Do you know where the station is?

In Spanish projected questions (167–168) show a pre-verbal or post-verbal position of the Subject just as often as non-projected questions, and we have seen that even relative clauses (169) – which contain something similar to a wh-word – are remarkably similar to interrogative clauses as far as the ordering of the constituents is concerned.

(167) *No   sabía   adónde   me   llevaba   Miguel*
       NEG   know-P-ipfv-1s   where   me   take-P-ipfv-3s   Miguel
       'I didn't know where Miguel was taking me.'

(168) *Yo   soy   inocente . . .   No   sé   si   mi hermano*
       I   be-Pr-1s   innocent   NEG   know-Pr-1s   if   my brother
       mató   o   no   mató
       kill-P-pfv-3s   or   NEG   kill-P-pfv-3s
       'I am innocent . . . I don't know if my brother killed or not . . .'

(169) *Todo   comienza   con el libro   que   escribió   el amigo*
       all   begin-Pr-3s   with the book   that   write-P-pfv-3s   the friend
       del autor.
       of-the author
       'Everything begins with the book the author's friend wrote.'

Further evidence of the small role played by the Mood element in Spanish is the fact that it is not echoed in tags nor does it appear in elliptical clauses like in English. Instead, we have seen that Spanish speakers only employ simple expressions concerning the polarity of the clause (*sí, no*).

To compensate for this reduced use of the Mood element, Spanish resorts to mechanisms that are less relevant or simply absent in English to mark the mood of the clause.

Intonation, although present in English too, is perhaps more noticeable in the Spanish clause, as it is the only feature systematically present in any clause type. Likewise, the fact that Spanish retains much of the verbal inflection of Latin means that some mood types – such as the imperative – and the distinction between propositions and proposals are clearly marked through the selection of specific verbal forms. We have also seen that the variable position of clitic pronouns in Spanish reflects to some extent if the clause contains a proposition or a proposal. It is true that the position of clitics is primarily governed by morphological criteria: normally they precede any form of the verb, but they follow Imperatives, Gerunds and Infinitives. When a verbal group contains forms that create a conflict, a pre-verbal as well as a post-verbal position of clitics is allowed: *puedo ver**lo**/**lo** puedo ver*, '(I) can see it'. However, in section 4.2.1 we saw that Subjunctive and Indicative forms of the verb are followed rather than preceded by clitics when they convey meanings similar to that of the Imperative: *léa**lo*** ('read it'), *vámo**nos*** ('let's go [ourselves]'), thus giving priority to the clausal mood over the default morphological criterion.

Finally, an interesting difference between English and Spanish concerns the realization of proposals. The use of Indicative forms of the verbs for this purpose is quite common in Spanish, both for offers (170) and commands made more polite by adopting the form of a question (171).

(170) *Yo   te   lo   explico.*
       I   you   it   explain-Pr-1s
      'I can explain it to you, I'll explain it to you.'

(171) *¿Me   das   las   llaves?*
      me   give-Pr-2s   the   keys
      'Can you give me the keys?, Give me the keys, will you?'

Such usages of the Present tense are rather unusual, non-standard or restricted to the colloquial style in English, and examples like (170–171) normally require the insertion of a modal verb in this language.

In the system of POLARITY the most noticeable difference is the simplicity of the realizations used in Spanish by comparison with those of English. The Negator, for instance, is always realized by the lexical item *no* and occupies a fixed pre-verbal position in Spanish. As a matter of fact, the complex

mechanisms involved in the production of negative clauses in English constitutes a real challenge for Spanish learners.

Equally challenging for Spanish speakers is the production of tags in English. Tags in Spanish consist of an invariable word related to the expression of polarity, such as *sí* or *no,* which do not even take into account the actual polarity of the clause. Thus, speakers who use *no* as the realization of the tag – as is the norm in European Spain – use it with both positive and negative clauses (172).

(172) *Eso   no   lo   pones   como   extranjero,   ¿no?*
      that   NEG   it   put-Pr-2s   as   foreign   TAG
      'You don't mark that [expression] as foreign, do you?'

Not surprisingly, most Spanish learners find that echoing the Mood element of the clause with reversed polarity when producing a tag in English is far too complicated for spontaneous speech.

A further area of divergence between English and Spanish concerns the set of negative, non-assertive and assertive expressions available in these languages. English has a specialized set of items to cover these three meanings, as Table 4.6 shows. For the sake of simplicity, we will only use the words *something*, *anything* and *nothing* and their equivalents in Spanish to illustrate the discussion.

Table 4.6   The set of assertive, non-assertive and negative items in English

Meaning	Lexical item	Example
Assertive	something	I know something about . . .
Non-assertive	anything	Do you know anything about . . .? I don't know anything about . . .
Negative	nothing	I know nothing about . . .

Table 4.7   The set of assertive, non-assertive and negative items in Spanish

Meaning	Lexical item	Example
Assertive	*algo*	*Sé algo sobre . . .*
Non-assertive	*nada*	*¿Sabes algo sobre . . .? No sé nada sobre . . .*
Negative (only pre-verbal)	*nada*	*Nada sé sobre . . .*

The picture in Spanish is a more complex one, as can be seen in Table 4.7. The examples are translations of the English examples in 4.6.

It can be seen that Spanish only has two sets of expressions, and there is some overlapping in their semantic distribution. The expression *nada* can function as a negative word only if it precedes the verbal group. In the rest of cases, it is non-assertive. However, it shares this meaning with the expression *algo*, which also functions as assertive in turn. The result of this overlapping is an uneasy correspondence between English and Spanish. Assertive clauses require *something* in English and *algo* in Spanish, whereas non-assertive clauses employ *anything* in English and *nada* or *algo* in Spanish, depending on the type of non-assertiveness of the clause. If this derives from its interrogative character, *algo* is employed in Spanish; if it results from negative polarity, then *nada* must be used. However, notice that English *nothing* is employed as a non-assertive expression in many non-standard varieties of English, which resembles the use of Spanish *nada*.

The system of MODALITY also shows a good number of similarities between English and Spanish. Willingness is normally conveyed in both languages through lexical elements (verbs, adjectives and nouns) that present various degrees of strength as part of their meaning, and usuality is predominantly expressed through Adjuncts. These are asymmetrical in English and Spanish because those expressions that indicate high strength (*always, siempre*) cannot be used near the negative pole: when they are negated, the result is a weakening of strength (*not always, no siempre*), rather than a meaning near the negative pole. The most relevant difference between English and Spanish concerns the expressions of high strength near the negative pole (*never, nunca/jamás*). Like all negative elements in Spanish, these can only function as proper negative words in pre-verbal position. When they follow the verbal group, they act as non-assertive expressions. For this reason, they require the presence of a Negator and they also appear in non-assertive, non-negative contexts where English employs *ever*.

The realizations of obligation and probability also show striking similarities in both languages. The expressions of obligation that carry high strength (*must, has to, deber, tener que*) can also be used to express probability in English and Spanish. In turn, the expressions of probability of median strength (*may, can, could, poder, podría*) derive from the meaning of ability in both languages, although this is less evident in present-day English due to the semantic changes undergone by *may* (Bybee et al. 1994).

Expressions of maximal obligation show a similar behaviour in both languages: some are symmetrical, while others are asymmetrical. No doubt this

reflects the speakers' necessity to distinguish between the meanings of 'absence of obligation' and 'negative obligation', as illustrated by examples (173–174) and the Spanish translations (175–176).

(173) I must leave → I mustn't leave (negative obligation)
(174) I have to leave → I don't have to leave (absence of obligation)
(175) *Tengo que marcharme* → *No tengo que marcharme* (absence of obligation)
(176) *Debo marcharme* → *No debe marcharme* (negative obligation)

However, it seems difficult to justify why a precise verb should convey the meaning of 'negative obligation' and not 'absence of obligation' in either of the two languages, and very probably this is an arbitrary development for each individual case.

    The meaning of 'absence of obligation' offers some interesting divergences between English and Spanish. We have seen that the negative form of the verb *need*, which can express the meaning of 'absence of obligation', is used far more often than the equivalent in Spanish *necesitar*. The negative version of the verb *tener que* ('have to') and the expression *no hacer falta que* ('not being required, necessary') are more common realizations for that modal meaning in Spanish. More significantly, these languages vary in how they treat this meaning when applied to situations in the past. The sense of pastness can be marked in two different ways in English: through a Past Finite (177) or through a Perfect Infinitive (178).

(177) Clive Phillips, (. . .), had fired me. Well he **didn't need to fire** me. Like all the teachers, I had a one-year contract renewable at Clive's discretion. (BNC: BMR)
(178) George Orwell feared that modernization would sweep aside Burmese culture. He **needn't have worried**. The Burmese are truly living in the past. (BNC: ARB)

The difference between the two constructions is that the second always implies that the action was actually performed, even though it was not necessary. Such implication is not incompatible with the first construction, as can be seen in (177), but is not necessarily present. In Spanish there is no easy equivalent of English *needn't have* + Past Participle. Past reference is normally marked on the Finite (179–180), which means that most of the time Spanish speakers do not explicitly specify if the action was actually performed.

(179) *Un sábado*   *que*   *no*   *tenías que*   *ir*   *a trabajar*
      a Saturday   that   NEG   have-to-P-ipfv-2s   go-Inf   to work
      'On a Saturday you didn't have to go to work.'

(180) *No*   *hacía falta que*   *viniera*   *el médico.*
      NEG   be-necessary-P-ipfv-3s   come-P-Subj-3s   the doctor
      'The doctor needn't have come, didn't have to come.'

It is true that a Perfect Infinitive can be combined with the Past form of *tener que* and *necesitar*. However, the first adopts a meaning of weak obligation in these contexts similar to that of *should* in English (181), and examples similar to (178) in English have little currency in Spanish.

(181) *¡No*   *tenía que*   *haber vuelto*   *a correr desde que se casó!*
      NEG   have-to-P-ipfv-3s   return-Inf-pf   to run since (he) got married
      'He shouldn't have resumed running since he got married!'

Example (181) also illustrates a further difference between English and Spanish. This concerns the realization of the weakest type of obligation one can find in both languages, which is realized in English through the modal verb *should*. As we saw in section 4.4.3, there is no equivalent of this in Spanish, and the meaning is obtained in this language through the weakening of verbs that carry higher strength, such as *deber* and *tener que*. Such weakening is attained by two main procedures:

- in proposals about the past, the use of a Perfect Infinitive is often enough to weaken the strength of the modal, as in (181);
- in the rest of cases, Spanish speakers resort to the Conditional tense of the modal verbs (182).

(182) *Y*   *tú*   *no*   *deberías*   *beber*   *más.*
      and   you   NEG   must-C-2s   drink-Inf   more
      'And you shouldn't drink any more.'

In the area of probability three main divergences between English and Spanish should be mentioned. The first one concerns the nature of the resources favoured by speakers in each language. It seems that Spanish speakers resort to modal verbs to express probability meanings less often than English speakers. This is partly explained by the fact that Spanish offers resources that are not available in English, such as fixed expressions

deriving from syntactic constructions (*puede que*, lit. '[it] can [be] that'; *seguro que*, lit. '[it is] sure that') or a whole set of Subjunctive forms that allow speakers to modulate the strength of the modal meaning. Another factor contributing to the less prominent role of modal verbs in Spanish is the use of the Future and Conditional tenses as indicators of probability rather than posterior time. Although this modal use of the Future tense is also present in English, its use is much more common in Spanish – particularly in the oral language – than in English (Carretero 1999, 2004), thus reducing the overall frequency with which speakers employ modal verbs such as *deber* ('must') or *poder* ('can, may').

The second important difference between English and Spanish in the realization of probability involves once again the temporal relation of anteriority. When English speakers wish to express probability about a past event through a modal verb, they normally mark the relation of anteriority on the Infinitive rather than the Finite, as examples (183–184) show.

(183) 'She **can't have been** more than seventy', Barbara said with a hint of anxiety; she herself was in her middle-sixties. (BNC: CKB)

(184) Life **must have been** very hard for many of these poor women. (BNC: K4T)

In contrast, Spanish speakers often mark the meaning of anteriority on the Finite by choosing the appropriate form of the conjugation (185–186), since Spanish modal verbs are not different from ordinary verbs as far as the inflectional morphology is concerned.

(185) *Esa   oca   ha debido de   sufrir   mucho.*
      that   goose   must-Pr-pf-3s   suffer-Inf   a-lot
      'That goose must have suffered a lot.'

(186) *El Maestro   – supuse –   debía   estar durmiendo.*
      the master   suppose-P-pfv-1s must-P-ipfv-3s   sleep-Inf-Prog
      'The Master – I supposed – must have been sleeping.'

Constructions with a Perfect Infinitive similar to those of English are also possible in Spanish, but today they tend to be used only in contexts where a Present Perfect tense would be appropriate. Thus, a clause like *debe haber llovido* ('[it] must have rained'), is regarded as synonymous with *ha debido llover* (lit. '[it] has must rained, I guess it has rained'), but not with *debía llover* (in the Imperfective Past form, denoting habit in the past: 'I guess it

used to rain') or *debió llover* (in the Perfective Past form, denoting a punctual event in the past: 'I guess it rained [on that occasion]').

The third significant difference between English and Spanish in the area of probability concerns the meanings near the poles. More specifically, it has to do with the varying degrees of proximity to the positive pole expressed in both languages and the expressions that are allowed in contexts more appropriate for weaker strength.

Spanish speakers can produce a contrast between expressions of high probability which is apparently missing in English. Such contrast is realized through the selection between the modal verbs *deber* ('must') and *tener que* ('have to'), where *deber* is felt by Spanish speakers to be weaker than *tener que*. Consider example (187). Given the length of the example, only a non-literal translation is provided.

(187) *Hay científicos que sostienen que el uso exclusivo de analgésicos como el fentanil no sólo no pudo haber provocado tantas muertes, sino ni siquiera haber dormido a nadie (. . .). Por ello insisten que el compuesto utilizado* **tiene que haber sido** *un cóctel de anestésicos con algún gas nervioso.*
'There are scientists claiming that the mere use of analgesics such as fentanyl cannot have caused so many deaths, or even the falling asleep of a single person (. . .). For this reason they insist that the compound employed must have been a mixture of anaesthetics and some nervous gas.

Tener que can be said to convey higher strength in Spanish because it denotes that the proposition contained in the clause is the *only* possibility available given existing evidence and/or our knowledge of the world – as example (187) illustrates – thus showing greater confidence on the speaker's part. In contrast, the use of *deber* in example (187) would present the proposition as an inference based on available evidence and/or our knowledge of the world, but lacking the excluding element present in *tener que*. Spanish speakers use *deber* when the inference they provide is the most reasonable one, or perhaps the only one they can come up with, but other inferences are not excluded. For this reason, the speaker's commitment to the content of the proposition would be much weaker in (187) if *deber* was employed.

It seems that this subtle difference in meaning is not particularly relevant in English, since both types of inference are realized through *must*. As a matter of fact, *have to* is not described in English grammars as an alternative realization of probability in English, or it is only commented as a feature to be found in American English, with no reference to a possible semantic contrast with *must*.

In spite of the semantic contrast described in Spanish between *deber* and *tener que*, it is not unusual to find cases in which both modal verbs are acceptable. These tend to be clauses in which the speaker expresses a mere guess or judgement based on no more evidence than personal impression, as in (188).

(188) *Eso   tiene que   ser   difícil   de   encajar.*
      that   have-to-Pr-3s   be-Inf   hard   of   take, cope-with-Inf
      'It must be difficult to deal with that.'

The effect of using *tener que* in these context, clearly more appropriate for a weaker type of probability, is to show a higher degree of confidence: a speaker that selects *tener que* in a clause like (188) seems more convinced of his/her guess than a speaker that chooses *deber*, despite the fact that no solid evidence is provided to justify such degree of confidence.

Interestingly enough, we find a similar phenomenon in the expression of probability in English, but near the negative pole. In principle, *can't* carries higher strength than *mustn't*[7] because it presents a proposition as impossible because it is incompatible with some evidence or with our knowledge of the world. In contrast, *mustn't* is similar to Spanish *deber* in that it presents the proposition as the most likely or reasonable inference we can make, without excluding other possibilities. As a result of this difference in strength, *mustn't* cannot be used in contexts where solid evidence is provided, as in (189).

(189) Lebanon blocks can't have been transported by ropes, my math proves it! (http://www.abovetopsecret.com/forum/32/pg11/srtreplies)

Nonetheless, it is possible to find clauses in which English speakers opt for *can't* instead of *mustn't* even if they lack the type of solid evidence necessary to completely exclude a possibility, as in (190).

(190) It can't have been very pleasant for the sand-martin, but for me it was a magical moment; to possess, momentarily, such a beautiful, wild creature. (BNC: AS7)

Like the Spanish examples, these are cases in which the speaker is in fact making a subjective guess only based on his/her personal impression, and the effect of *can't* is to simply show more confidence on the speaker's part or – in other cases – to emphasize the speaker's incredulity.

Using a modal expression of high probability in an inappropriate context is a common resource found in many languages to emphasize the speaker's confidence about his/her statement or his/her disbelief at something. This is what makes us say *That's impossible!* as a reaction to an event we positively know has taken place. The interesting thing, however, is that Spanish only makes use of this resource on the positive side of the scale, as we have seen in connection with *deber* and *tener que.* The use of *no poder* ('not can, can't') is, as a rule, only permitted in Spanish if enough evidence is available to justify the complete exclusion of a possibility. For this reason, English speakers employ the modal verb *can't* in cases in which Spanish speakers clearly prefer *no deber* ('not must, mustn't'), such as (183).

4.6 Summary

In this chapter we have examined the Spanish resources that enable us to establish and maintain communicative interactions by defining crucial aspects of an exchange, such as the purpose of the interaction or the relation between the participants involved.

We have seen that interpersonal resources can be divided into three broad regions: MOOD, POLARITY and MODALITY.

The systems of MOOD are responsible for the marking of different clause types, which are in turn associated to specific functions within a communicative exchange. Table 4.8 summarizes the clause types identifiable in Spanish and the typical function they realize.

As regards the marking of these clause types in Spanish, we have seen that intonation and, to a lesser extent, the inflectional morphology of the verb play a central role in this language, while the Mood element is far less significant than in English.

Table 4.8   Clause types in Spanish

Clause types					Function
Indicative	Interrogative	Yes–no interrogative		Biased Unbiased	Biased question Unbiased question
		Wh-interrogative			Content question
	Declarative				Statement
Imperative					Command

The systems of POLARITY contain resources related to the basic opposition between Positive and Negative. We have seen that the Negative value receives diverse interpretations when applied to different clause types:

- with declaratives and wh-interrogatives, it negates some part of the clause
- with yes–no interrogatives, it produces biased questions
- with imperatives, it can have two meanings: (a) it relieves the addressee from some obligation, or (b) it imposes a prohibition on the addressee.

In addition, we have seen that the realization of negative clauses in Spanish is characterized by its simplicity by comparison with English, as it involves a single, invariable word (*no*) which occupies a fixed position within the clause.

Finally, the systems of MODALITY comprise the resources to indicate various degrees between positive and negative polarity. These can divided into four groups depending on their semantic contribution to the clause:

(i) Probability, which concerns the speaker's commitment to the validity of the proposition contained in the clause.

(ii) Usuality, which introduces a quantifying element that specifies the proportion of cases or occasions on which the polarity of the proposition is appropriate.

(iii) Willingness, which describes one of the participant's inclination to carry out the proposal contained in the clause.

(iv) Obligation, which allows speakers to modulate the degree of forcefulness they add to a proposal.

We have reviewed the most common realizations in Spanish for each of these four types of modality, focusing on two fundamental aspects: how near they are from the positive or negative pole (strength), and the changes in meaning undergone by each modal expression when combined with negative polarity.

Notes

[1] This introduction offers a concise summary of the theoretical framework used for the description of the Spanish resources, and may be skipped by the reader familiar with SFG theory. The ideas presented here are mainly based on Halliday (1985),

Matthiessen (1995), Eggins (1993), Martin et al. (1997) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004).

[2] There is a long grammatical tradition in Europe that assigns tense names to every inflectional form of the verb. Needless to say, many of these inflections do not actually indicate tense.

[3] This book focuses on the lexicogrammatical resources of Spanish and only provides very basic information about the tones normally associated to the Spanish mood types. More detailed information on this issue can be found in specialized studies such as Sosa (1999), Navarro Tomás (1944), Hualde (2002), Escandell Vidal (1998) or Quilis (1993) among others.

[4] Spanish is a syllable-timed language with virtually no difference between weak and strong syllables. There are, therefore, no weak forms of certain common words that can receive a strong pronunciation, as is the case of English.

[5] Normative grammars of Spanish recommend the use of the preposition *de* after the modal verb *deber* when it expresses probability, and its omission when it expresses obligation. This recommendation, however, is clearly not being followed by present-day speakers, who tend to stick to one of the two constructions for both purposes.

[6] See note 2 regarding the presence of the preposition *de* with this modal verb.

[7] Although English grammars have traditionally stated that there does not exist an epistemic use of *mustn't*, examples of this can be found in English. See (Zamorano-Mansilla 2008) for a discussion of the semantic contrast between epistemic *mustn't* and *can't*.

Chapter 5

Textual grammar

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will deal with two main mechanisms used by Spanish to create textual meanings, that is, meanings concerned with the presentation of ideational and interpersonal meanings as text in context. These two mechanisms are the *thematic organization* of the clause, and the phenomenon of *information structuring*.

Thematic organization is concerned with the construction of the message as a communicative event consisting of a thematic peak of prominence and a rhematic trough of non-prominence, using the metaphor of the textual wave (Matthiessen 1992: 42). Thematic prominence is achieved in Spanish by foregrounding some clausal material as the point of departure for the message (the Thematic field), while the rest of the elements which follow become rhematic.

Information structuring is concerned with two related dimensions of information: the informational status of discourse referents (as *retrievable* or *non-retrievable*), and the informational relevance of certain parts of the message (as *focal* or *non-focal*). Informational prominence is achieved when information is presented as *non-retrievable* (or *new*), or when it is presented as *focal*, or when it is presented as both, as we will see below.

Thematic and *information structuring* are closely interrelated and complementary textual mechanisms: the informational status of constituents usually determines the thematic organization of the clause: *retrievable* material is usually selected as thematic while *non-retrievable* material tends to be selected as rhematic. This seems to be an effective communicative strategy for the construction of coherent texts: using as a point of departure material which looks back and lays the foundation for what is to come. Also, *focal* information is often realized in Spanish through the use of certain thematic constructions, as we will see below. However, *thematic* and *information structuring* are different textual mechanisms, and as such they will be studied in this chapter.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 5.2 analyses the *thematic organization* of the Spanish clause, providing operational definitions for the SF notions of *Theme* and *Rheme,* and studying their discourse and clausal functions. Section 5.3 outlines the phenomenon of *information structure* in this language, focusing on two main dimensions: the information status of the referents and the informational relevance of the message constituents. Finally, section 5.4 presents a contrastive account of the main differences between English and Spanish regarding their thematic organization and their information structuring mechanisms.

5.2 The *thematic organization* of the Spanish clause

This section describes the *thematic organization* of the Spanish clause, interpreted in the SF literature as that organizing mechanism which confers on the clause the status of a communicative event. The section will first introduce the notions of *Theme* and *Rheme,* as defined in the SF literature, and will later present an operationalization of these notions which can prove useful for the analysis of Spanish. The descriptive account will try to shed light not only on the clausal functions of the *thematic structure* of the clause but will also provide a discourse perspective on the selection of *Themes* and *Rhemes* in different text types.

5.2.1 Theme and Rheme in SFG

Following Danes (1974), Halliday characterizes the English clause as a message structure consisting of a *Theme* accompanied by a *Rheme*:

> The English clause consists of a 'theme' and a 'rheme' . . . [the theme] is, as it were, the peg on which the message is hung, . . . The theme of the clause is the element which, in English, is put in first position. (Halliday 1968: 161)

Within that message structure, the *Theme* is the starting-point, while the *Rheme* is the part in which the *Theme* is developed (Halliday 1985: 38). The basic idea behind Halliday's account is that every language has some kind of organizing principle which confers on the clause the status of a communicative event. In Halliday's words, 'the clause is organised as a message by having a special status assigned to one part of it. One element in the clause is enunciated as the theme; this then combines with the remainder so that the two parts together constitute a message' (1994: 37).
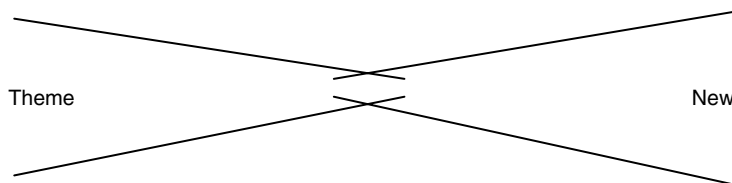
FIGURE 5.1 Textual waves in the clause (adapted from Matthiessen 1992: 42)

Matthiessen (1992: 42), following Halliday, characterizes the *Theme-Rheme* structure using the metaphor of the textual wave, 'with one peak of thematic prominence followed by one trough of rhematic non-prominence'. This is complemented by the textual wave created by the *information structure,* characterized by a trough of *Given* non-prominence followed by a peak of *New* prominence, as shown in Figure 5.1 above.

Interestingly, while both the *Theme* and the *Rheme* seem to be complementary divisions of the English clause (and therefore necessary for its configuration as a message), the focus of attention in the SF literature has mainly concentrated on the notion of *Theme* while the notion of *Rheme* has raised much less interest to the point of being considered as disposable by some scholars (see Fawcett 2003). A notable exception is the work of Fries (1994), who proposed the notion of *N-Rheme* to indicate the last constituent of the clause. For Fries, the *N-Rheme* is 'the newsworthy part of the clause, that is, the part of the clause that the writer wants the reader to remember'. As a result, according to Fries: 'we should expect the content of the N-Rheme to correlate with the goals of the text as a whole, the goals of the text segment within those larger goals, and the goals of the sentence and the clause as well' (1994: 234).

Fries characterization of the *N-Rheme* is inspired in the combined approach to *information structure* proposed by Prague School linguists, where *Theme* combined the notions of starting-point and *Given* information, while *Rheme* was associated with *New* information.

Halliday's approach, on the other hand, separates out the two aspects: basically, the *Theme* is what comes first in the clause and means 'what I am talking about now'. *Given* means 'what you were talking about' (or 'what I was talking about before'). While there is in the unmarked case an association of the *Theme* with the *Given,* the two are independent options which do not necessarily coincide (Halliday 1968: 212).

5.2.2 Defining Theme in SFG

As explained in the previous section, the focus of attention when studying the clause as a message has been mainly on its thematic part. As Robin Fawcett rightly points out, 'more work on *Theme* in English has been carried out in the framework of SFL than in any other theory of language' (Fawcett 2003).

However, in spite of the proliferation of studies, and that there is some common ground in the analysis and identification of the different types of *Theme*, it is notoriously difficult to formulate a definition of *Theme* which commands general agreement (cf. Berry 1996 for an overview of nine different definitions). One possible reason is that grammatical categories are 'ineffable' by nature (Halliday 1988), but also because, in order to capture the meaning of *Theme* it is necessary to consider and integrate two different levels of analysis: the local clause-rank level, and the more global discourse context where thematic choices are motivated by different variables.[1] Only by integrating these two levels we will be in a position to gain a better understanding of this textual category.

The initial definitions of *Theme* in the SF literature have emphasized its clause-level features. Thus, Halliday first defined *Theme* as 'what is being talked about, the point of departure for the clause as message' (1967b: 212). This double-sided definition appeared years later again: 'the Theme serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned' (1985: 38). The second part of the definition, which emphasizes the notion of 'aboutness', has proved controversial among researchers when applied to certain types of Themes (Downing 1991), but recent studies are shedding new light on this issue (see Arús forthcoming).

More recent accounts of *Theme*, however, seem to background the 'aboutness' feature in favour of the first part of the original definition and making reference to the context. Thus, Matthiessen described *Theme* as 'the point of departure of the clause as a message. It sets up the local context for each clause' and added that 'this local context often relates to the method of development of the text' (Matthiessen 1995a: 794); that is, the *Theme* is selected in such a way that it indicates how the clause relates to this method and contributes to the identification of the current step in the development. Similarly, Halliday and Matthiessen identify *Theme* as 'the element which serves as the point of departure for the message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context' (2004: 64).

This brief summary of definitions provided by some leading SF scholars clearly points to the discourse relevance of *Theme*, a dimension of analysis

which has been present in the work of different SF scholars. Key sources in this respect are the work of Peter Fries, relating *Theme* to the notion of 'method of development' (1981, 1993, 1995a, 1995b), Martin's characterization of *Theme* as 'scaffolding' the rhetorical structure of a text (1992), and Matthiessen's descriptions of the role of *Theme* as a 'guide to appropriate expansion points' (1992: 70).

However, in spite of the unquestionable value of these insights, and the ever-increasing amount of research into this topic, further research is needed which can provide empirical evidence for the discourse function(s) of *Theme*.[2] Particularly relevant from the contrastive perspective are a series of empirical studies carried out by Lavid (1998, 2000a, 2000c), who validated the hypothesis that *Theme* selection correlates with certain strategies of textual organization ('chaining strategies'), which differ depending on the subject matter and the discourse purpose of the text. Thematic selection was thus shown not to be random, but motivated by its guiding function in discourse, acting as a signpost for the reader of the chaining strategy selected by the writer. The results of these empirical studies applied contrastively both to English and Spanish, but some differences were found in the selection of *Themes* to signal a given chaining strategy (see Lavid 1998). These might be due to the different word order patterns which characterize each language and also to divergent grammatical realizations of the same semantic type of *Theme*.

5.2.3 Thematic and Rhematic fields

This brief outline of the work carried out in SFG around the notions of *Theme* and *Rheme* is clearly not an exhaustive revision, but is indicative of the central issues that should be considered when studying the message structure of the clause. But, beyond the theoretical debate on existing definitions for these terms, what we find of higher relevance for descriptive purposes is to provide an operationalization of the *Theme* and *Rheme* categories into measurable constructs which can be subject to empirical verification.

In the description of Spanish we propose to work with a characterization of the message structure of the clause as consisting of two main functionally distinct zones or fields: the *Thematic field* and the *Rhematic field*. We will provide a more detailed characterization of each of these fields in the subsections below.

5.2.3.1 The Thematic field

The *Thematic field* is a complex functional zone in clause-initial position serving a variety of clausal and discourse functions. The *Thematic field* consists of two main components: the *Inner Thematic field* and the *Outer Thematic field*, as explained below.

5.2.3.1.1 The Inner Thematic field

The *Inner Thematic field* consists of elements selected from the experiential structure of the clause, and can include two components:

 (i) The Thematic Head
(ii) The Pre-Head

The *Thematic Head* is the nuclear part of the *Inner Thematic field* with both discourse and clausal functions. We define the *Thematic Head* as the first element with a function in the experiential configuration of the clause which is more central to the unfolding of the text by allowing the tracking of the discourse participants. It is also the element most closely aligned with the spatial, temporal or metaphorical location of the speaker/writer, from whose perspective or point of view the message is presented to the addressee (clausal function). Thus, in (1a) the *Thematic Head* is 'Maria', while in (1b) it is 'Pablo' (in all the examples below the Thematic Head is underlined):

(1a) <u>*María*</u> *recibió una carta de Pablo*
       'Mary received a letter from Pablo'

María	*recibió una carta de Pablo*
Thematic Head	Rhematic field

(1b) <u>*Pablo*</u> *envió una carta a María*
       'Pablo sent a letter to María'

Pablo	*envió una carta a María*
Thematic Head	Rhematic field

In (1a) the scene is described from the Recipient's perspective, whereas in (1b) it is presented from that of the Agent. In the former, the speaker aligns himself with the Recipient, so to speak, while in the latter he sides with the Agent.[3]

The function of the *Thematic Head* is, therefore, twofold. Its discourse function is to orient the reader in her journey through the text by signalling the most central participants involved. Its more local, clausal, function is to present some experiential element as most closely aligned with the speaker's advantage point of view. The effect of this thematization process is that some material is 'foregrounded' or given prominence, both with respect to the remaining clause content, and to the rest of the textual material.

The *Thematic Head* in Spanish may be explicit or implicit, depending on factors such as the informational status of its referent, its definiteness, etc. . . . An explicit *Thematic Head* is encoded through independent lexical and grammatical forms, such as Nominal Groups or nominal clauses. An implicit *Thematic Head* is encoded through verbal prefixes or suffixes, depending on the function of the *Head* in the interpersonal structure of the clause.

If the implicit *Thematic Head* functions as Subject, the realization is a verbal suffix indicating the person and number of the participant, as in (2) below, where the verbal suffix *-ó* of the verb form *comprendió* encodes the *Thematic Head* of the clause (underlined in the example):

(2) *Acto continuo*   *comprendió*   *que esa voluntad era*
                                                    inútil
     Immediately afterwards understand- 3s Past   that that wish was futile
     'Immediately afterwards she realized that that wish was futile'

Acto continuo comprendi-	*ó*	*que esa voluntad era inútil*
Pre-Head	Thematic Head	
Thematic field		Rhematic field

If it functions as Complement, it is realized through clitics.[4] This is illustrated in (3) below, where the clitic *la* refers to the participant Emma, who was mentioned in the previous cotext:

(3) <u>*La*</u>   *engañaron . . .*   *el sello y el sobre*
     Her   deceived   the stamp and the envelope
     'She was deceived by the stamp and the envelope'

If the *Thematic Head* is explicit and functions as a Complement, the realization is typically done through lexical means followed by a clitic copy, as in (4), where the reference to the participant *la niña* is made first through lexical means (*a la niña*) followed by a clitic copy *la.*

(4) <u>*A la niña*</u> *la* *llamaron Inés* (CE, Novios de antaño)
    To the girl, her called Inés
    'They called the girl Inés'

The *Pre-Head* is the non-nuclear part of the *Inner Thematic field*. This is typi-
cally realized by Circumstantial elements which do not exhaust the the-
matic potential of the clause, as illustrated in example (5) below. The
Circumstantial elements can be encoded as groups, but also as adverbial
clauses, as illustrated by the first and the second Circumstantial elements in
example (5) below:

(5) *Junto a estos convenios, y con el propósito de fomentar el intercambio científico,
    la Fundación ha consolidado una amplísima red de relaciones dentro y fuera
    de España que la convierten en una de las instituciones más dinámicas del
    país.*

Junto a estos convenios	*y con el propósito de fomentar el intercambio científico*	<u>*la Fundación*</u>	*ha consolidado una amplísima red de relaciones dentro y fuera de España que la convierten en una de lasinstituciones más dinámicas del país.*
Circumstantial	Circumstantial	Participant	
Pre-Head		Head	
Inner Thematic field			Rhematic Field

Circumstantial elements in thematic position may perform a variety of
functions, depending on their semantic nature. Temporal or Location
Circumstantials often function as scene-setting frameworks (see Downing
1991).

The *Pre-Head* may also include other elements such as the *se* marker
(when pronominal), and the non-inflectional part of the verbal form when-
ever the Subject is implicit, as shown in (6) below:

(6) *se halla ahora ante un proceso de expansión internacional*
    'it is in a process of international expansion'

se	*hall-*	*-a*	*ahora ante un proceso de expansión internacional*
Pron. *se*	find	3s Pr Indi	
Pre-Head		Head	
Thematic field			Rhematic field

5.2.3.1.2 The Outer Thematic field

The *Outer Thematic field* is configured by elements which surround and complete the *Inner Thematic field*. The range of elements which can be selected for the *Outer Thematic field* is varied, and may consist of the following types:

(i)   Elements which are instrumental in the creation of the logical connections in the text, such as linkers, binders and other textual markers. Following Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), we will call these *Textual Themes*. The element 'y', not analysed before, but part of example (6) above, illustrates this type:

y		*se hall-*	*-a*	*ahora ante un proceso de expansión internacional*
Textual Theme		Pre-Head	Head	Rhematic field
Outer Thematic field		Inner Thematic field		

(ii) Elements which express the attitude and the evaluation of the speaker with respect to his/her message, including those expressing modality and polarity. These are called *Interpersonal Themes*, also following Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). Example (7) illustrates this type:

(7)   *En realidad, yo   no he sido nunca   muy partidaria de la Semana Santa*
       Actually,   I   not have been never very fond of the Easter Week
       'Actually, I've never been fond of the Easter Week'

En realidad	*yo*	*no he sido nunca muy partidaria de la Semana Santa*
Interp. Theme	Thematic Head	Rhematic field
Outer Thematic field	Inner Thematic field	

(iii) Constructions which are not integrated in the main predication and usually appear separated by a pause, or a comma, from the main clause. We will call these *Absolute thematic constructions*. These include two main types: *Participial clauses* and *Absolute Themes*, as explained below:

(a)   *Participial clauses* appear isolated from the main predication and modify it, as in (8) below.

(8)   *Inspirada en el espíritu de su titular, . . .*   *fue constituida en 1978 por*
                                                            Soledad Ortega Spottorno.

Inspired by the figure of its founder,   be-3s created in 1978 by
                                             Soledad Ortega Spottorno

'Inspired by the figure of its founder, . . . the Fundación was created
                                             in 1978 by Soledad Ortega
                                             Spottorno'

Inspirada en el espíritu de su titular	*fue*		*constituida en 1978 . . .*
	be	3s Pr Indi	
Absolute thematic construction	Pre-Head	Head	Rhematic field
Outer Thematic field	Inner Thematic field		

(b)   *Absolute Themes* are elements which may have a functional role within
       the structure of the clause, but are not syntactically integrated within
       it, as in (9) below:

(9)   *Pues, la enseñanza primaria,*   *recuerdo que me aburría*   *bastante* (SE-14)
       Well, the primary school system, remember-1s   that me-ACCUS.
                                                            bore   a lot

       'Well, primary school teaching, I remember that I got easily bored
       with it'

Pues,	*la enseñanza primaria*	*recuerdo*		*que me aburría bastante*
		remember	1s Pr	
Textual Theme	Absolute theme	Pre-Head	Head	Rhematic field

In Spanish *Absolute Themes* display a number of features which can be sum-
marized as follows:[5]

(i)   They are syntactically and prosodically separated from the structure of
       the clause. In the written language they typically appear to the left of
       the main predication, separated by a comma, though it is also possible
       to find them at the right end of it (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1997: 41–42). In

the spoken language they are marked by a pause, and they have their own prosodic contour. However, their syntactic autonomy from the main predication is not complete, as they are often recovered through the use of co-referential pronouns, the repetition of the lexical noun, or via a semantic link with the Verb.

(ii)   As a result of their partial syntactic autonomy, they are not controlled by mood features of the main predication, such as its possible inter-rogative or negative character.

(iii) They often appear without any case-marking or prepositions.

(iv)   They are frequently separated from the experiential elements of the *Inner Thematic field* by different types of linguistic material (e.g. projec-tions, subordinate clauses, relative clauses).

In example (10) below, the element *el resto del disco* is an *Absolute Theme* displaying most of the features mentioned above: it is separated by a comma from the *Inner Thematic field*; it is not controlled by the negative polarity of the clause; it is recovered through the co-referential pronoun '-*lo*' attached to the infinitival form of the Verb; and it is separated from the experiential elements of the *Inner Thematic field* by different types of linguistic material: an interpersonal element (*la verdad*) and a cognitive Process (*no sê*) which introduces the main predication (*cómo definirlo*).

(10) *El resto del disco,*   *la verdad,*   *no sé*   *cómo definirlo*
       The rest of the disk,   the truth,   no know-1s   how to define it
       'The rest of the disk, honestly,   I don't know how to define it.'

El resto del disco	*la verdad*	*no sé*		*cómo definirlo*
		Not know	1s Pr	
Absolute Theme	Interp. Theme	Pre-Head	Head	Rhematic field
Outer Thematic field		Inner Thematic field		

Another example of an *Absolute Theme* is illustrated in (11) below, where the element 'Pinochet' at the left of the clause displays many of the features summarized above: it is separated by a comma from the *Inner Thematic field*, but it is recovered by the repetition of the referring NP ('a Pinochet') at the end of it; it is not controlled by the interrogative mood of the clause; it lacks case-marking through prepositions.

(11) *Y Pinochet,*   *¿qué sentido tiene*   *ahora meter en la cárcel a*
                                                      Pinochet?

And Pinochet what sense have-3s now   put in jail Pinochet?
'And Pinochet, does it make sense to put Pinochet in jail now?'

Y	*Pinochet*	*¿qué sentido*	*tiene ahora meter en la cárcel a Pinochet?*
Textual Theme	Absolute Theme	Thematic Head	Rheme
Outer Thematic field		Inner Thematic field	

Absolute Themes in Spanish may also be introduced by expressions such as *en cuanto a* or *con respect a*, as illustrated in (12) and (13) below.

(12) *Con respecto a los pescadores, hay dos tipos, el pescador de altura y el pescador ribereño*
'As to fishermen, there are two types: the fisherman and the river fisherman'

(13) *En cuanto a los festejos gallegos, no me asombran*
'As to Galician parties, I am not surprised'

According to Hidalgo Downing (2003:186), these constructions have a preparatory function, serving as a framework for the introduction of a new discourse topic.

Though formally similar, this type of *Absolute Themes* should not be confused with the so-called *Matter* or *Respect Adjuncts*, whose purpose is to specify the 'matter' with respect to which some information is presented in the main clause, as illustrated in (14):

(14) *En cuanto a grandeza, profundidad y construcción, la « Sinfonía número 1 » de Elgar es extraordinaria*
'As to its greatness, depth and construction, Elgar's Symphony 1 is extraordinary'

Here, the element *en cuanto a grandeza, profundidad y construcción* specifies the features (greatness, depth and construction) with respect to which

Elgar's symphony is extraordinary. The difference between (14) and the *Absolute Theme* constructions in (12) and (13) is not only semantic. There are positional restrictions too. Thus, while in (14) the thematized *Matter Adjunct* can appear both initially and in final position in the clause, due to its circumstantial nature, the *Absolute Themes* in (12) and (13) typically appear in thematic position. Other possible arrangements are ungrammatical in Spanish, as shown by (15) below:[6]

(15) * *No me asombran, en cuanto a los festejos Gallegos*

5.2.3.2 *The Rhematic field*

The *Rhematic field* is that functional zone which advances the discourse forward by structuring the post-thematic part of the clause in such a way that it ensures the successful transmission of information. The *Rhematic field* elaborates and expands the information contained in the *Thematic field*, and it usually contains *New Focal* material. However, the notions of *Rheme*, *New* and *Focus* should be kept separate, as they belong to different organizational levels, as will be shown in section 5.5 of this chapter.

In order to illustrate the combined functions of the *Thematic* and the *Rhematic fields* in the development of discourse, we will analyse text 1 below, where the Spanish original text is in italics, followed by a rough English translation. The *Thematic field* is underlined:

Text 1: *La fundación Ortega y Gasset* (http://www.ortegaygasset.edu/ retrieved 7 October 2008)

1. <u>*La Fundación José Ortega y Gasset*</u> *(FJOG) es una institución privada dedicada a la difusión cultural, la formación, el debate y la investigación en el ámbito de las Ciencias Sociales y las Humanidades.*
    'The Fundación José Ortega y Gasset (FJOG) is a private, non-profit making institution devoted to cultural activities, debate and research for the dissemination of the Social Sciences and Humanities.'
2. <u>*Inspirada en el espíritu de su titular, así como en el papel que desempeñó en la sociedad de su tiempo,*</u> *<u>fue</u> constituida en 1978 por Soledad Ortega Spottorno.*
    'Inspired by the figure of its founder and the important role he played in the society of his time, the Fundación was created in 1978 by Soledad Ortega Spottorno.'

3. *Desde entonces ha* estado presidida sucesivamente por la propia fundadora, *Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, Pere Duran Farell y Antonio Garrigues Walker,*
'From that time, it has been presided by its own founder, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo and Pere Duran Farell, Antonio Garrigues Walker,

4. *y en la actualidad es presidente José Varela Ortega.*
'and its president is currently José Varela Ortega.'

5. *La Fundación comprende una serie de centros y departamentos que en conjunto llevan a cabo actividades muy variadas. Entre otras, formación de postgrado, enseñanza universitaria para estudiantes extranjeros, investigación aplicada, documentación sobre relaciones internacionales, seminarios y congresos, conferencias, mesas redondas, publicaciones, cursos para profesores de español, exposiciones y asistencia técnica a organismos públicos y privados y a organizaciones multilaterales.*
'The Fundación has a number of centres and departments which carry out many different activities. These activities are, among others, graduate training, university teaching for foreign students, applied research, documentation about international relations, seminars and conferences, lectures, round tables, publications, courses for teachers of Spanish, exhibitions and technical assistance to public and private corporations and multilateral organizations.'

6. *El desarrollo de estas tareas ha vinculado a la Fundación a un grupo de académicos y profesionales de prestigio que hoy hacen de ella uno de los* think tanks *o grupos de expertos más acreditados de España.*
'The development of these activities has bound the Fundación to a group of academics and prestigious professionals which form one of the think tanks or more reputable groups of experts in Spain.'

7. *Con su apoyo, la institución se ha convertido en un importante escenario de reunión y debate privado, que acoge de manera habitual a destacados representantes de los ámbitos político, económico, académico y empresarial de todo el mundo.*
'With their support, this institution has become an important meeting-point and private debate, which usually houses outstanding political, economical, academic and management representatives from all over the world.'

8. *La Fundación cuenta en España con sedes en Madrid y Toledo*
'The Fundación has two headquarters in Madrid and Toledo'

9. *y se halla ahora ante un proceso de expansión internacional que ha conducido ya a la constitución de una institución semejante en Argentina – con sede en Buenos Aires – otra en Colombia – con sede en Bogotá – y una última en*

México – con sede en El Colegio de México-, así como a la realización regular de actividades en otros países de América Latina, como República Dominicana, Chile y Perú, donde en el año 2005 se inauguró una sede del Instituto Universitario de Investigación Ortega y Gasset.

'and it is in a process of international expansion which has already led to the creation of a similar institution in Argentina (Buenos Aires), Colombia (Bogota) and México (located in El Colegio de México), as well as the regular organization of activities in other countries in Latinamerica, specially the Dominican Republic, Chile and Perú, where a centre of the Instituto Universitario de Investigación Ortega y Gasset was inaugurated in year 2005.'

10. <u>*Para alcanzar sus fines*</u> <u>*la Fundación*</u> *ha establecido también a lo largo de los años acuerdos y convenios con varios centenares de organismos, empresas e instituciones españolas y extranjeras, entre las que figuran centros académicos tan destacados como el St. Antony's College, el Institut D' Études Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po), El Colegio de México, la Universidad de Cornell o el Instituto Torcuato di Tella.*

    'The Fundación, in order to reach its aims, has established in the course of its lifetime, agreements with hundreds of corporations, companies, Spanish and foreign institutions, and very outstanding academic and research centres such as St. Antony´s College, Oxford, Institut d´Études Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po), Colegio de Mexico, University of Cornell or Instituto Torcuato di Tella (Buenos Aires).'

11. <u>*Junto a estos convenios,*</u> <u>*y con el propósito de fomentar el intercambio científico,*</u> <u>*la Fundación*</u> *ha consolidado una amplísima red de relaciones dentro y fuera de España que la convierten en una de las instituciones más dinámicas del país.*

    'The Fundación, together with these agreements, and with the purpose of increasing scientific exchanges, has consolidated a very wide network of relations inside and outside Spain which made it one of the most dynamic institutions of the country.'

Table 5.1 displays a detailed analysis of text 1 above in terms of the *Thematic field* and the *Rhematic field* categories explained above.

We will first look at the *Thematic field* and its components. In the *Outer Thematic field* there are only two elements. One is an *Absolute thematic construction*, more specifically, a Participial clause (*Inspirada en el espíritu de su titular, así como en el papel que desempeñó en la sociedad de su tiempo*), and the other is a *Textual Theme* (*y*).

In the *Inner Thematic field*, the element which is recurrently chosen as *Thematic Head* in the majority of the clauses is the *Fundación José Ortega y Gasset* (FJOG). The FJOG is the recurrent point of departure, the angle and

Table 5.1 Thematic analysis of text 1

	Thematic field					**Rhematic field**	
#	**Outer Thematic field**			**Inner Thematic field**			
	Textual	**Interpersonal**	**Absolute**	**Experiential**			
				Pre-Head	**Head**		
1					*La Fundación José Ortega y Gasset* (FJOG)	*es una institución privada dedicada a la difusión cultural, la formación, el debate y la investigación en el ámbito de las Ciencias Sociales y las Humanidades.*	
2			*Inspirada en el espíritu de su titular, así como en el papel que desempeñó en la sociedad de su tiempo,*	*fue*		*constituida en 1978 por Soledad Ortega Spottorno.*	
				be	3s Past		
3				*Desde entonces ha* (have)	3s Pr Indi	*estado presidida sucesivamente por la propia fundadora, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, Pere Duran Farell y Antonio Garrigues Walker,*	
4	y			*en la actualidad es* (be)	3s Pr Indi	*presidente José Varela Ortega.*	

(*Continued*)

Table 5.1 Cont'd

#	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
	Textual	Interpersonal	Absolute	Experiential		
				Pre-Head	Head	
5					*La Fundación*	*comprende una serie de centros y departamentos que en conjunto llevan a cabo actividades muy variadas. Entre otras, formación de postgrado, enseñanza universitaria para estudiantes extranjeros, investigación aplicada, documentación sobre relaciones internacionales, seminarios y congresos, conferencias, mesas redondas, publicaciones, cursos para profesores de español, exposiciones y asistencia técnica a organismos públicos y privados y a organizaciones multilaterales.*
6					*El desarrollo de estas tareas*	*ha vinculado a la Fundación a un grupo de académicos y profesionales de prestigio que hoy hacen de ella uno de los think tanks o grupos de expertos más acreditados de España.*
7				*Con su apoyo*	*la institución*	*se ha convertido en un importante escenario de reunión y debate privado, que acoge de manera habitual a destacados representantes de los ámbitos político, económico, académico y empresarial de todo el mundo.*
8					*La Fundación*	*cuenta en España con sedes en Madrid y Toledo*

9	y	*se halla (find)*	3s Pr Indi	ahora ante un proceso de expansión internacional que ha conducido ya a la constitución de una institución semejante en Argentina –con sede en Buenos Aires– otra en Colombia –con sede en Bogotá– y una última en México –con sede en El Colegio de México-, así como a la realización regular de actividades en otros países de América Latina, como República Domini-cana, Chile y Perú, donde en el año 2005 se inauguró una sede del Instituto Universitario de Investigación Ortega y Gasset
10		*Para alcanzar sus fines,*	la Fundación	ha establecido también a lo largo de los años acuerdos y convenios con varios centenares de organismos, empresas e instituciones españolas y extranjeras, entre las que figuran centros académicos tan destacados como el St. Antony's College, el Institut D' Études Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po), El Colegio de México, la Universidad de Cornell o el Instituto Torcuato di Tella.
11		*Junto a estos convenios, y con el propósito de fomentar el intercambio científico,*	la Fundación	ha consolidado una amplísima red de relaciones dentro y fuera de España que la convierten en una de las instituciones más dinámicas del país.

the basic orientation to the field of the text. By selecting the FJOG as the *Thematic Head* in most of the clauses of the text, the writer is telling the reader that this is the most central participant, the 'hook' round which the writer spins the rest of the textual material. Also, the choice of the FJOG as the *Thematic head* in most clauses gives continuity to the discourse.

The elements chosen as *Thematic Pre-Head* are mostly Circumstantials. Some of them express a new setting in time (*Desde entonces*) or a temporal location (*en la actualidad*); others express accompaniment (*con su apoyo, junto a estos convenios*) or purpose (*para alcanzar sus fines, con el propósito de fomentar el intercambio científico*). Other elements functioning as *Pre-Head* are the pronominal *se* marker in clause (9), and the non-inflectional part of the lexical verb in clauses (2), (3), (4) and (9).

If we now look at the material included in the *Rhematic field* of the different clauses, we will find that it is much more varied than the one included in the *Thematic field*. The first clauses inform the reader of the type of activities carried out by the FJOG and provide a historical overview of its origins and its founders (1–5). The following clauses describe its current prestigious status (6–7), its location (8), and the international agreements and relations with other institutions (9–11). The inclusion of all this material in the *Rhematic field* of the clauses advances the discourse forward by expanding and elaborating the information contained in the *Thematic field*.

5.3 A textual view on Theme

As the analysis of text 1 above has shown, the selection of certain clausal elements as part of the *Thematic* or the *Rhematic field* is not a random choice on the part of the writer, but is the result of the different functions performed by the *Thematic* and the *Rhematic* segments within the discourse. Thus, while elements within the *Rhematic field* elaborate the field/subject matter of the text, those elements within the *Thematic field* typically have a guiding or orienting function, signalling different possible points or angles of expansion of the text. Thus, for example, elements selected for *Thematic Heads* typically signal participants in discourse; elements expressing time within the *Pre-Head* can signal a new setting in time or a temporal scope along a temporal line of development; linkers, binders and other textual markers in the *Outer Thematic field* usually signal rhetorical transitions in the text. Moreover, as shown by Lavid (2000a), the selection of certain types of *Themes* in different text types is not random, but correlates with the chaining strategy or line of development selected by the writer to organize

his/her text. Thus, texts organized around a spatial chaining strategy tend to initiate their clauses with *Themes* expressing location, while texts whose primary chaining strategy is temporal tend to select circumstantial *Themes* expressing time to help the reader construct episodic sequences.

The following sections provide textual illustrations of the role that thematic selection plays in texts belonging to different modes (dialogue vs monologue), and oriented to different domains of the overall ideational system. The first two texts belong to the written monologic mode, but differ in their ideational orientation. Text 2 is a narrative passage, extracted from the Spanish short story 'Emma Zunz', written by Jorge Luis Borges. Text 3 is a spatial description extracted from a tourist guide of the city of Madrid. Text 4 belongs to the dialogic mode and is an informal interview extracted from a Spanish corpus of oral interviews.

As we will see, each text analysed in the following subsections is not just a random collection of sentences, but is textually organized following certain lines of development which correlate with specific thematic selection patterns. Depending on the text, thematic selection will be exploited to signal the characteristic chaining strategies which organize the text.

5.3.1 Thematic structure in narrative sequences

Text 2 is a passage extracted from a Spanish short story entitled 'Emma Zunz', written by the Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges. The discourse purpose of this text is narrative and its subject matter deals with events where the protagonist, Emma Zunz, is involved as the central participant. The kind of knowledge that is constructed in this type of texts, according to Matthiessen (1995b: 39) is episodic: 'temporal enhancement is typically used to construct episodes made up of sequences of events where the main characters take on different participant roles'. The *Thematic field* of each of the clauses is underlined.

Text 2: Extract from 'Emma Zunz' by Jorge Luis Borges (In *Spanish Short Stories. Penguin Parallel Texts.* Penguin Books 1966: 14)

1. <u>El catorce de enero de 1922</u>, <u>Emma Zunz</u>, *al volver de la fábrica de tejidos Tarbuch y Loewenthal, halló en el fondo del zaguán una carta, fechada en el Brasil, por la que supo que su padre había muerto.*
   'On the fourteenth of January, 1922, when she returned home from the Tarbuch and Loewenthal textile mills, Emma Zunz discovered in

the rear of the entrance hall a letter, posted in Brazil, which informed her that her father had died.'

2. *La engañaron, a primera vista, el sello y el sobre;*
    'The stamp and the envelope deceived her at first;'

3. *luego, la inquietó la letra desconocida.*
    'then the unfamiliar handwriting made her uneasy.'

4. *Nueve o diez líneas borroneadas querían colmar la hoja;*
    'Nine or ten scribbled words tried to fill up the page;'

5. *Emma leyó que el señor Maier había ingerido por error una fuerte dosis de veronal y había fallecido el tres del corriente en el hospital de Bagé.*
    'Emma read that Mr Maier had taken by mistake a large doseof veronal and had died on the third of the month in the hospital of Bagé.'

6. *Un compañero de pensión de su padre firmaba la noticia, un tal Fein or Fain, de Río Grande, que no podía saber que se dirigía a la hija del muerto.*
    'A boarding-house friend of her father had signed her the letter, some Fein or Fain, from Río Grande, with no way of knowing that he was addressing the deceased's daughter.'

7. *Emma dejó caer el papel.*
    'Emma dropped the piece of paper.'

8. *Su primera impresión fue de malestar en el vientre y en las rodillas;*
    'Her first impression was of a weak feeling in her stomach and her knees;'

9. *luego de ciega culpa, de irrealidad, de frío, de temor;*
    'then of blind guilt, of unreality, of coldness of fear;'

10. *luego, quiso ya estar en el día siguiente.*
    'then she wished that it were already the next day.'

11a. *Acto continuo comprendió que esa voluntad era inútil*
    'Immediately afterwards she realized that that wish was futile'

11b. *porque la muerte de su padre era lo único que había sucedido en el mundo, y seguiría sucediendo sin fin.*
    'because the death of her father was the only thing that had happened in the world, and it would go on happening endlessly.'

12. *Recogió el papel*
    'She picked up the paper'

13. *y se fue a su cuarto.*
    'and went to her room.'

14. *Furtivamente lo guardó en un cajón, como si de algún modo ya conociera los hechos ulteriores.*
    'Furtively, she hid it in a drawer, as if somehow she already knew the subsequent facts.'

15. *Ya <u>había</u> empezado a vislumbrarlos, tal vez;*
     'She had already begun to suspect them, perhaps;'
16. *<u>ya</u> <u>era</u> la que sería.*
     'she had already become the person she would be.'

Table 5.2 displays a detailed analysis of text 2 above in terms of the *Thematic field* and the *Rhematic field* categories.

If we first look at the elements in the *Inner Thematic field*, the following patterns emerge:

(i) The elements selected for the *Pre-Head* slot are typically temporal. The function of these temporal elements is to locate the activity sequence in time (*el catorce de Enero de 1922, luego, acto continuo*), thus staging the narration into different temporal phases. The first temporal reference (*el catorce de Enero de 1922*) specifies a point in time which sets the scene for the subsequent events where the protagonist – Emma Zunz – is involved. Further temporal references (*luego, acto continuo*) signal the rest of the events where Emma Zunz is involved. The two temporal references at the end of the text (clauses (17) and (18)) introduced by the element *ya* have the effect of bringing back to the present what might appear a projection to the future of the protagonist.

(ii) The elements selected as *Thematic Heads* identify the story's main participant, Emma Zunz, and other less central participants (the letter she receives, the boarding-house friend of her father) in the story. The protagonist, Emma Zunz, is identified through the use of different coding strategies: (a) directly by her name, as in clauses (1), (5) and (7); (b) through the use of the personal pronoun 'la' when acting as a Complement (clauses (1), (2)); (c) through the use of a grammatical metaphor (*Su primera impresión*), where the process has been nominalized and the participant herself has been coded as a possessive pronoun (clause (8)); (d) through the use of the person marker in the verbal morphology (clauses (10)–(17)).

These two types of selections – the temporal elements in *Pre-Head* and the participants as *Thematic Heads* – create two types of continuity chains or lines of development in this text. One is a temporal chain which frames the different activity sequences; the other is a participant chain which helps identify and track discourse referents in the text.

The elements selected for the *Rhematic field* elaborate the field or subject matter of the text by presenting the events and actions where the story's participants are involved. Clauses (1)–(5) focus on the finding of the letter

Table 5.2 Thematic analysis of text 2

#	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
	Textual	Interpersonal	Absolute	Experiential		
				Pre-Head	Head	
1				*El catorce de Enero de 1922*	*Emma Zunz*	*al volver de la fábrica de tejidos Tarbuch y Loewenthal, halló en el fondo del zaguán una carta, fechada en el Brasil, por la que supo que su padre había muerto.*
2					*La*	*engañaron, a primera vista, el sello y el sobre.*
3				*Luego*	*la*	*inquietó la letra desconocida*
4					*Nueve o diez líneas*	*querían colmar la hoja.*
5					*Emma*	*leyó que el señor Maier había ingerido por error una fuerte dosis de veronal y había fallecido el tres del corriente en el hospital de Bagé.*
6					*Un compañero de pensión de su padre*	*firmaba la noticia, un tal Fein or Fain, de Río Grande, que no podía saber que se dirigía a la hija del muerto.*
7					*Emma*	*dejó caer el papel*
8					*Su primera impresión*	*fue de malestar en el vientre y en las rodillas*

9		*luego*		*de ciega culpa, de irrealidad, de frío, de temor*
10		*luego quiso* (querer)	3s Past	*ya estar en el día siguiente*
11		*Acto continuo comprendió* (understand)	3s Past	*que esa voluntad era inútil porque la muerte de su padre era lo único que había sucedido en el mundo, y seguiría sucediendo sin fin*
12		*Recogió* (pick up)	3s Past	*el papel*
13	*y*	*se fue* (go)	3s Past	*a su cuarto.*
14	*Furtivamente*	*lo*		*guardó en un cajón, como si de algún modo ya conociera los hechos ulteriores*
14		*Ya había* (have)	3s Past	*empezado a vislumbrarlos, tal vez.*
15		*Ya era* (be)	3s Past	*la que sería*

by Emma Zunz, her reactions to the handwriting used in the manuscript, her reading and discovery of her father's accidental death. Clause (6) focuses on the letter's signature by a boarding-house friend of her father, and clauses (7)–(15) narrate the sequence of events where Emma is involved after reading the letter.

5.3.2 Thematic structure in spatial descriptions

Text 3 below has been selected from a tourist guide of the city of Madrid, available in several languages through the web page created by the government of the Autonomous Community of Madrid (at http:www.turismomadrid.es). The tourist guide includes several routes through the city of Madrid, and text 3 is one of those, namely the one which goes from Puerta del Sol to the Royal Palace. This is route number 1 in the guide, since it describes the heart of the city. The *Thematic field* is underlined.

Text 3: From *Guía turística. Comunidad de Madrid (Consorcio Turístico de Madrid) Itinerario 1: Puerta del Sol- Palacio Real*

1. *El mejor punto de partida para conocer la ciudad de Madrid es, sin duda, la Puerta del Sol.*
   'The best starting-point for getting to know the city of Madrid is undoubtedly the Puerta del Sol.'
2. *Los cuatro puntos cardinales de esta plaza sin puertas nos llevan a cuatro culturas diferentes.*
   'The four cardinal points of this gateless square lead us to four different cultures.
3. *Al norte, las calles comerciales;*
   'To the north, the commercial streets;'
4. *al sur, el Madrid más popular y castizo de Lavapiés;*
   'to the south, the popular and authentic Madrid of Lavapiés;'
5. *al oeste, el Madrid de las clases acomodadas*
   'to the west, the Madrid of the well-to-do classes'
6. *y al este, por las calles Mayor o Arenal, llegamos a la cuna de la ciudad.*
   'and to the east, along Calle Mayor and Calle Arenal, we reach the heart of the city.'
7. *Donde hoy se levanta el Palacio Real, construyeron los árabes su Alcázar allá por el siglo VIII de nuestra era,*
   'Where today the Royal Palace is erected, the Arabs built their 'Alcázar' or fortress around the C8th,

8. <u>*mientras que a su derecha*</u> <u>*comenzaban*</u> *a trazarse las primeras calles de Mayrit.*
    'and to its right the first streets of Mayrit were initially planned.'

The route starts in Puerta del Sol, the central place of observation and develops through a series of spatial references to the four cardinal points (north, south, west and east) with respect to that central location. When reaching the east point, the reader is guided to the heart of the city, the location where the Royal Palace is erected today and which was also the site of the old 'Alcázar' or fortress, built by the Arabs around the eighth century. The last clause takes the reader to the first streets of Madrid, located to the right of the Royal Palace.

Table 5.3 displays a detailed analysis of text 3 above in terms of the *Thematic field* and the *Rhematic field* categories.

If we first look at the elements in the *Inner Thematic field*, the following patterns emerge:

(i) The elements selected as *Thematic Head* in the first two clauses introduce the reader to the central point of observation from which the text is going to proceed. The *Thematic Head* in clause (1), identifies the 'best starting-point for getting to know the city of Madrid' with the Puerta del Sol, which is presented in rhematic position. This clausal ordering is probably the result of a presentative strategy by which the writer assigns thematic prominence to the evaluative information ('the best starting-point') placing it at the beginning and leaves the reference to the location at the end of the clause. The reference to the four cardinal points of the Puerta del Sol as *Thematic Head* in clause (2) announces how the text is going to proceed, guiding the reader to four different cultures, specified in the *Rhemes* of the subsequent clauses.

Interestingly, though the writer could have chosen to encode the reference to the four cardinal points as Subject Participants in their corresponding clauses, thus assigning them the status of *Thematic Heads*, they are presented as Spatial Circumstances ('to the north', 'to the south', 'to the west', 'to the east'), thus filling the *Pre-Head* slot of the *Inner Thematic field*, and leaving the *Thematic Head* slot empty. This could have been filled in by a reference to the first-person plural, as usually done in texts which describe an itinerary, but the writer has left that reference implicit in clauses (3), (4) and (5), and only in clause (6) is the reference encoded in the verbal morphology (first-person plural of verbal form 'llega-mos').

Table 5.3 Thematic analysis of text 3

#	Thematic field					Rhematic field
	Outer Thematic field			Inner Thematic field		
	Textual	Interpersonal	Absolute	Experiential		
				Pre-Head	Head	
1					*El mejor punto de partida para conocer la ciudad de Madrid*	*es, sin duda, la Puerta del Sol.*
2					*Los cuatro puntos cardinales de esta plaza sin puertas*	*nos llevan a cuatro culturas diferentes*
3				*Al norte*		*las calles comerciales*
4				*Al sur*		*el Madrid más popular y castizo de Lavapiés*
5				*Al oeste*		*el Madrid de las calles acomodadas*
6	*y*			*Al este, por las calles Mayor o Arenal, llegamos* (arrive)	1p	*a la cuna de la ciudad.*
7				*Donde hoy se levanta el Palacio Real, construyeron* (build)	3p	*los árabes su Alcázar allá por el siglo VIII de nuestra era,*
8	*mientras que*			a su derecha comenzaban (begin)	3p	*a trazarse las primeras calles de Mayrit.*

(ii) If we now consider the information encoded in the *Rhematic field*, we can see that after the first initial *Rheme* which refers to the Puerta del Sol, the rest of the *Rhemes* in clauses (3), (4) and (5) expand the idea of the different cultures present in the city of Madrid, first mentioned in clause (2). In clause (6) the *Rheme* refers to the 'heart of the city', which is picked up again in clause (7) with the reference to the 'Alcázar' built by the Arabs. Finally, the *Rheme* in clause (8) makes reference to the first streets of Madrid, which were originally planned to the right of the Alcázar.

The selections in the *Thematic* and the *Rhematic fields* in this text are not random. While the elements in the *Inner Thematic field* of several clauses guide the reader so that s/he can build up an ideational map of the heart of Madrid by making reference to several locations (cardinal points) with respect to one central place of observation, the elements in the *Rhematic field* expand the information on these locations by specifying the different cultures that they lead to, and by making reference to the construction of the Alcázar in the heart of the city and the planning of the first streets of Madrid.

5.3.3 Thematic structure in dialogue

Text 4 below belongs to the dialogic mode. The dialogue has been extracted from a subcorpus of informal interviews, which is now part of the Corpus del Español (CE). The format of the interview is always the same: the interviewer (ENC) poses open questions on different subjects to informants (INF) from different cities of Spain and Latin America. The extract selected for analysis here belongs to an interview with a 34-year-old female Geology teacher at the University of Seville. The *Thematic field* is underlined.

Text 4: Interview SE-4

ENC:
1. ¿*Usted*   es   *de Sevilla?*
   You   are   from Seville?
   'Are you from Seville?'

INF:
2 (a) *Sí, sí,*   *nacida aquí.*
      Yes, yes   born   here
      'Yes, yes, I was born here.'

2 (b)   <u>*Y*</u>   <u>*mis padres* también.</u>
      And   my parents too
      'And my parents too.'

ENC:
3.   *Ya.* <u>*Y*</u>   *¿<u>a qué</u>   se dedica   actualmente?*
      Ok. And   to what   dedicate- 3s   now?
      'Ok, and what do you do now?

INF:
4 (a)   <u>*Estoy* de adjunto en esta cátedra y estoy haciendo la tesis de</u>
      <u>*micropaleontología.*</u>
      be-1s associated in this chair and be-1s doing the Ph.D. dissertation
      on Micropaleontology.
      'I am a lecturer in this department and I am preparing my Ph.D.
      dissertation on micropalentology'

4 (b)   *La   estoy   terminando ya.*
      It   be-1s   finishing already
      'I am finishing it'

4 (c)   *O sea,   la   estoy redactando.*
      I mean,   it   be-1s writing up
      'I mean, I am writing it up.'

ENC:
5.   *¿Con quién está   haciendo   la   tesis?*
      With whom be-3s   doing   the   Ph.D. dissertation?
      'Who is supervising your Ph.D. dissertation?

INF:
6.   <u>*La estoy*</u> *haciendo con   el   catedrático de Paleontología de Granada.*
      It be-1s doing   with the Professor of Paleontology of Granada.
      'The Professor of Paleontology of Granada.'

ENC:
7.   *¿<u>Y</u>   <u>lleva</u>   mucho tiempo aquí   trabajando?*
      And   have-3s   long time   here working?
      'And have you been working here for a long time?

INF
8.   *Seis años.*
     Six years
     'For six years.'

ENC:
9.   *¿<u>Hizo</u>   la carrera   aquí también?*
     Study-3s   the degree   here too?
     'Did you study your degree here too?

INF:
10 (a) *No. En Madrid.*
       No. In Madrid.
       'No. I studied in Madrid.'

10 (b) *<u>En Sevilla</u> no hay carrera de Geológicas, que es la que yo he seguido.*
       In Seville not there is degree on Geology, which is the one I have
       studied.
       'In Seville there is no degree on Geology, which is the one
       I studied.'

ENC:
11.   *¿<u>Puede</u> hablar sobre su trabajo actual?*
     Can-3s speak about your job current?
     'Can you tell us about your current job?'

INF:
12 (a) *Sí. <u>Yo</u> estoy haciendo toda la tesis de micropaleontología del neógeno en la*
       depresión del Guadalquivir. [. . .]
       Yes. I be-1s   doing   all   the dissertation on micropaleontology
       of the neogen in the depression of the Guadalquivir.
       'Yes. I am preparing all my dissertation on micropaleontology of
       the neogen in the Guadalquivir hollow.'

Each move in this exchange is framed by the speech roles adopted by the interlocutors: the interviewer (ENC) adopts the speech role of demanding information with a certain distance with respect to the interviewee who adopts the role of information provider. Their mood choices reflect these

speech roles, and their thematic and rhematic choices are also the reflection of the type of dialogic interaction which characterizes interviews. If we analyse the interlocutor's mood choices, we will see that the interviewer's utterances are all either polarity or wh-questions, while the interviewee's utterances are declarative clauses which provide answers to these questions.

The thematic and rhematic choices of the interlocutors are also related to their speech roles. The interviewer's choices in text 4 above are of two types:

(i) In polarity questions, the elements of the *Inner Thematic field* refer directly to the addressee, either by explicit reference (as in clause (1) where the interviewee is directly referred to by the pronoun usted), or implicitly in the verbal inflection of the thematized Process (*hizo, lleva, puede*).

(ii) In wh-questions, the elements of the *Inner Thematic field* refer directly to missing pieces of information about specific aspects of the interviewee's professional life (*¿a qué se dedica actualmente?, ¿con quién está preparando la tesis?*) since this is what the interviewer is interested in.

The rhematic portions of these questions elaborate the field of the text by making reference to the interviewee's birthplace and her academic career.

If we now analyse the interviewee's responses we can see that on a number of occasions the interviewee's interventions are characterized by elliptical clauses whose thematic structure consists of *Rheme* only. For example, clauses (2), (8) and (9) above (repeated below for convenience) consist of *Rheme* only since their thematic part is presupposed from what has gone before and is omitted in the ellipsis.

(1)

¿*Usted*	*es de Sevilla?*
Thematic field	Rhematic field

(2)

Nacida aquí.
Rheme

(7)

¿*Y lleva*	*mucho tiempo aquí* *trabajando?*
Thematic field	Rhematic field

(8)

Seis años
Rhematic field

(9)

¿Hizo	*la carrera aquí también?*
Thematic field	Rhematic field

(10)

En Madrid
Rhematic field

5.4 Theme and Rheme markedness

The notion of 'markedness' is usually associated with the idea of frequency or typicality of a given linguistic choice. Listeners/readers perceive linguistic choices as 'unmarked' when they are the frequent, typical or expected choice in a given linguistic context, while they are perceived as 'marked' when they are atypical in that same context. We will discuss these features with respect to the *Thematic* and the *Rhematic fields* presented above.

5.4.1 Theme markedness

In Spanish, as in other languages, the grammatical context for the characterization of 'marked' or 'unmarked' thematic choices is the Mood type of the clause. Thus, depending on whether the Mood type is indicative, interrogative or imperative, it is possible to find different 'marked' and 'unmarked' choices. However, in contrast to languages like English where the range of 'unmarked' thematic choices is rather limited, Spanish presents a wide range of thematic options in the different Mood types, as described in the following subsections.

5.4.1.1 *Declarative clauses*

Declarative clauses in Spanish can be of two types: *affirmative* or *exclamative.* We will start with the thematic choices in declarative clauses first.

5.4.1.1.1 *Affirmative clauses*

In Spanish the range of elements perceived as 'unmarked' in affirmative clauses is wide, probably due to its word order/typological features. We can distinguish two choices: those within the *Inner Thematic field* and those in the *Outer Thematic field.*

   Within the *Inner Thematic field*, the elements which are perceived as unmarked *Thematic Heads* are of four types:

i. Explicit Subjects in pre-verbal position.

(16) *La Fundación José Ortega y Gasset (FJOG) es una institución privada dedi-cada a la difusión cultural, la formación, el debate y la investigación en el ámbito de las Ciencias Sociales y las Humanidades.*
       'The Fundación José Ortega y Gasset (FJOG) is a private, non-profit making institution devoted to cultural activities, debate and research for the dissemination of the Social Sciences and Humanities.'

La Fundación José Ortega y Gasset (FJOG)	es una institución privada dedicada a la difusión cultural, la formación, el debate y la investigación en el ámbito de las Ciencias Sociales y las Humanidades
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field

ii. Implicit Subjects encoded as person and number markers in the verbal inflection when not preceded by clitics.

(17) *Estoy*   *de adjunto*   *en esta cátedra*
       be (1s Pr Indi)   as a lecturer   in this chair
       'I am a lecturer in this department'

Estoy		de adjunto en esta cátedra
BE	1s Pr Indi	Rhematic field
Unmarked Pre-Head	Unmarked Thematic Head	

iii. Clitics in pre-verbal position. This category includes the following: (a) participants functioning as direct (*me, te, nos, os, lo, la, los, las*) or indirect objects (*le, les, se*) in the mood structure of the clause, as in (18a) and (18b) below; (b) reflexives (*me, te, se, nos, os, se*), which can be direct, as in (19a), or indirect objects, as in (19b).

(18a) <u>*La*</u> *engañaron, a primera vista, el sello y el sobre* (EZ)

La	*engañaron, a primera vista, el sello y el sobre*
Direct Object	
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field

(18b) <u>*Se lo explicaron mal*</u>

Se	*lo*	*explicaron mal*
Indirect Object	Direct Object	
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field	

(19a) <u>*Se lavó*</u>

Se	*lavó*
Direct Object	
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field

(19b) <u>*Se lavó las manos*</u>

Se	*lavó*	*las manos*
Indirect Object	Predicator	Direct Object
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field	

iv. Participants acting as Sensers in certain mental or psychological processes, as in (20) below:

(20) <u>*A mí*</u> *Sevilla me entusiasma* (CE, SE-6)

A mí	*Sevilla me entusiasma*
Senser	
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field

v. The *se* marker when functioning as a Participant in the clause. This occurs in the so-called impersonal contexts, as in (21) below:

(21) <u>*Se* <u>*vive*</u> *al día*</u> (CE, Luis Bonafoux (1855–1918). Bilis)

Se	*vive al día*
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field Rhematic field

Other non-subject participants are perceived as marked when functioning as *Thematic Heads*, as in (22) below:

(22) *el curso último de la carrera lo hice en Madrid* (SE-6)

El curso último de la carrera	lo hice en Madrid
Marked Thematic Head	Rhematic field

The elements which are perceived as unmarked *Pre-Heads* are the following:

i. The non-inflectional part of the verb form, as illustrated in example (17) above, whose non-inflectional part functions as unmarked *Pre-Head* and whose inflectional morphemes indicating first-person and singular number function as unmarked *Thematic Head*.

ii. The *se* marker when functioning as pseudo-reflexive, as in (23) below. Here the *se* marker can be considered as part of the Verb.

(23) *Se llama Agustín* (SE-3)

Se llam-	-a	Agustín
Unmarked Pre-Head	Unmarked Head	Rhematic field

iii. Circumstantial elements which contribute to the cohesive development of the discourse, as shown by the different thematic selection in texts 1, 2 and 3 above.

iv. The negative particle 'no' preceding the Verb, as in (24) below:

(24) *No me gusta llevar malas noticias a ninguna parte* (Corpus del Español: El copo de nieve. Grassi, Ángela)

No	me	gusta llevar malas noticias a ninguna parte
Unmarked Pre-Head	Unmarked Head	Rhematic field

Within the *Outer Thematic field*, the elements which are perceived as 'unmarked' are *Textual* and *Interpersonal Themes*, while other elements such as *Absolute constructions* would only be perceived as 'marked' in the written mode of discourse.[7]

5.4.1.1.2 Exclamative clauses

In this subtype of mood, it is possible to find different unmarked options. Typically, the *qu-element* (*qué, cuál, cómo* and *cuánto*) is perceived as the

unmarked *Thematic Head*, as shown by the underlined elements in (25) below:

(25)   a.   *¡Qué voces pegaba el condenado!* (How the bugger yelled!)
       b.   *¡Qué idiota!*   (How silly!)
       c.   *¡Cómo está de alto tu niño!* (How tall your child is!)
       d.   *¡Qué despacio conduces!* (How slow you drive!)

In those exclamatives constructed with the definite articles (*el*, *la*, *lo*) and unstressed *que*, these two elements are perceived as the unmarked *Thematic Head*, as in (26) below:

(26)   *¡La que ha organizado tu hermana!*
       'Your sister made such a fuss'

   In those exclamatives introduced by the *si* marker, this element is perceived as the unmarked *Pre-Head*, followed by either other unmarked *Pre-Head* elements (clitics, non-inflectional part of Verbs, etc.) and/or the *Thematic Head* realized overtly or covertly. In (27) below, the unmarked *Thematic field* includes the *si* marker as *Pre-Head* and the clitic *lo* as *Thematic Head*.

(27)   *¡Si lo sabré yo!*
       'I know that very well'

5.4.1.2 Interrogative clauses

Here we have to distinguish between *yes–no* and *wh-interrogative* clauses. In both types, the distinction between the *Outer Thematic field* and the *Inner Thematic field* applies. In *wh–interrogative clauses* the element referred to by the interrogative pronoun is considered as unmarked *Thematic Head* of the clause, regardless of its function in the Transitivity or Mood structures, as in clauses (3) and (5) of text 4 above, reproduced as (28) and (29) for convenience below:

(28)   *¿Con quién está   haciendo   la   tesis?*

¿Con quién	*está hacienda la tesis?*
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field

(29)   *¿a qué   se dedica   actualmente?*

¿A qué	*se dedica actualmente?*
Unmarked Thematic Head	Rhematic field

In *yes-no interrogative* clauses the choices which are perceived as marked or unmarked are the same as the ones specified for declarative clauses, since what basically differentiates affirmative and interrogative clauses in Spanish is intonation, not word order. However, certain choices are perceived as marked for each of these mood types. Thus, for example, in *Wh-interrogative* clauses the explicit reference to the addressee by the second-person pronoun in initial position is made for emphatic purposes, and will be perceived as marked, as in clause (1) in text 4 above, repeated below for convenience:

(30) *¿Usted   es de Sevilla?*

¿Usted	*es de Sevilla?*
Marked Thematic Head	Rhematic field

5.4.1.3 *Imperative clauses*

The imperative mood type in Spanish has two main options: the '*optative*' and the '*directive*'. In the *optative* subtype, the markers *ojalá* or *si* followed by the non-inflectional part of the Verb are perceived as 'unmarked' *Pre-Heads*, and the person and number inflectional markers are 'unmarked' *Thematic Heads*, as analysed in (31) and (32) below:

(31) *Ojalá   venga   Juan*
     Des-Marker   come (Pr Subj) Juan
     'I wish Juan came'

Ojalá	*venga*		*Juan*
Des-Marker	come	3s Pr Subj	Rhematic field
Pre-Head	Pre-Head	Thematic Head	

(32) *Si tuviera tiempo* (SE-9) Des-Marker I had (past subjunctive) time
     'I wish I had time'

Si	*tuviera*		*tiempo*
Des-Marker	have	1s P Subj	Rhematic field
Pre-Head	Pre-Head	Thematic Head	

In the '*directive*' subtype the elements which are perceived as unmarked thematic choices depend on the polarity of the clause. If the polarity is

positive, the non-inflectional part of the Verb is the unmarked *Pre-Head* while the person and number markers are perceived as unmarked *Thematic Heads*, as in (33) below, where the form *haz* contains information about the lexical verb *hacer* (make), and about the person and number. The clitic *-lo* follows the Verb and it is realized enclitically as an attached morpheme:

(33) <u>*Haz*</u><u>*lo*</u>   *por caridad de Dios* (Peñas arriba)
    Do 2s – it   for God's charity
    'Do it for God's sake'

Haz-		*lo por caridad de Dios*
do	2s	Rhematic field
Pre-Head Unmarked	Thematic Head Unmarked	

If the polarity is negative, the negative particle 'no' and the non-inflectional part of the Verb are unmarked *Pre-Heads*, and the person and number markers are the unmarked *Thematic Head*, as in (34) below. The verbal form adopted in Spanish when the polarity is negative is the Subjunctive.

(34) <u>*No*</u>   <u>*hagas caso, Amparo*</u> (Corpus del Español. 'La duda' by
        J. Echegaray)
    Not   do   attention, Amparo
    'Don't pay attention, Amparo'

No	*hagas*		*caso*
Negative particle	do	2s Pr Subj	Rhematic field
Pre-Head Unmarked	Pre-Head Unmarked	Thematic Head Unmarked	

Interestingly, clitic pronouns precede the Verb when the polarity is negative, thus becoming thematic, as in (35) below:

(35) <u>*No lo hagas por nosotros*</u> (Corpus del Español. 'Pedro Sánchez' by
    J. M. Pereda)

No	*lo*	*hagas*	*por nosotros*
Negative particle	Clitic Complement	Rhematic field	
Unmarked Pre-Head	Unmarked Thematic Head		

5.4.2 Rheme markedness

It would be difficult to specify all the possible marked and unmarked options in the *Rhematic field* of the Spanish clause given the wide range of elements which can appear in this position.

It is possible, however, to specify which options are perceived as 'unmarked' or 'marked' as the culmination of the clause. Thus, while in general, sequence *Medium ^ Beneficiary* is perceived as 'unmarked', as in (36), the alternative ordering *Beneficiary ^ Medium* is perceived as 'marked', as in (37) below:

(36) *Le*   *dió*   *el libro*   *a Juan*
      Him   give 3s   the book   to Juan
      'He give the book to John'

(37) *Le*   *dió*   *a Juan*   *el libro*
      Him   give 3s   to Juan   the book
      'He give John the book'

In general, the elements which are perceived as unmarked rhematic choices in Spanish are those which are placed in clause-final position following information processing constraints, such as the principle of end-focus (Leech and Short 1981: 212) and the principle of end-weight (Leech 1983: 65–66). According to the principle of end-focus, *focal* information should be placed towards the end of the clause, preferably in final position. According to the principle of end-weight, shorter constituents should be placed towards the beginning of the clause and the longest and most complex constituents in final position. The element 'a Juan' in (37) is a Beneficiary realized by a Prepositional Group and it is perceived as unmarked in Spanish since it is heavier than other clausal elements. Although this is an isolated example, the principles of end-focus and end-weight are at work in example (38) below, extracted from text 2 above:

(38) *El catorce de enero de 1922, Emma Zunz, al volver de la fábrica de tejidos Tarbuch y Loewenthal, halló en el fondo del zaguán* **una carta, fechada en el Brasil, por la que supo que su padre había muerto.**
      'On the fourteenth of January, 1922, when she returned home from the Tarbuch and Loewenthal textile mills, Emma Zunz discovered in the rear of the entrance hall a letter, posted in Brazil, which informed her that her father had died.'

Here, the element realizing the Goal (*una carta, fechada en el Brasil, por la que supo que su padre había muerto*) is both *focal* and heavy, and this explains its culminative position in the clause instead of the Location Circumstance (*en el fondo del zaguán*). Note that this choice is perceived as 'unmarked' by the Spanish reader, while choosing the Location as culminative would be perceived as 'marked'.

5.5 Information structuring in Spanish

In section 5.2 above we concentrated on the system of *Theme* and how it assigns textual prominence to certain elements both within and outside the transitivity structure of the clause. We also analysed the different functions performed by the thematic and the rhematic segments of the clause within the discourse. While elements within the *Thematic field* typically have a guiding or orienting function, signalling possible points or angles of expansion of the text, those within the *Rhematic field* elaborate the subject matter of the text.

Alongside the thematic structure of the clause, Spanish also structures messages in informational terms, assigning different *informational statuses* and *informational relevance* as focus to certain parts of the message.

In SFG, information structuring is studied as a feature of what Halliday called the 'information unit'. For Halliday, information units represent the speaker's chunking of messages into quanta of information, where information is conceptualized as a 'process of interaction between what is already known or predictable and what is new or unpredictable' (Halliday 1994: 275). Information units consist of an obligatory *New* element, plus an optional part which is not *New*, and which is called *Given*. The *New* is that part of the information unit that is presented by the speaker as non-recoverable, while the *Given* is that part that is presented by the speaker as recoverable to the listener. An element may be presented by the speaker as recoverable when it has been previously mentioned in the discourse, or when it is contextually available in the speech situation, or simply because the speaker wants to present it as *Given* for rhetorical purposes. Likewise, an element may be presented as non-recoverable when it has not been mentioned, or when it is something unexpected, whether previously mentioned or not.

The realization mechanism of the information unit, according to Halliday, is intonation: each information unit is realized phonologically as one tone group. Within the tone group, the speaker assigns tonic prominence

to those elements which he/she considers to be *New*, that is, carrying the main burden of the message. These elements are said to be carrying out information *Focus*.[8] The *Focus* is unmarked when the tonic falls on the last accented, non-anaphorical lexical item in the tone group, and it is marked when the tonic falls on any other location of the tone group.

While this account of information structuring has been fruitfully applied to the description of spoken English, in our view, it has two main limitations when applied to Spanish. First, Spanish prefers to use non-prosodic mechanisms to express information structuring, as we will see below. This limits the applicability of the model of information structure proposed in SFL, where it is a phonological system and a feature of the spoken language only (Halliday 1978: 133). Second, it conflates the notion of *New* information with the notion of information *Focus*, which, as pointed out by other authors, are not necessarily the same thing (see Dik et al. 1981: 59; Silva-Corvalán 1984).

Our account of information structuring in Spanish considers two different, though interrelated, dimensions of analysis: the *information status* of the message elements and the *informational relevance* as *Focus* of certain parts of the message. These two dimensions can be detected in both written and spoken texts, as will be shown below.

5.5.1 Information status

In order to ensure an effective transmission of information, the text producer has to combine two types of information when creating his/her messages: *new* informative material which elaborates the subject matter of the text, and *retrievable* or *recoverable* information which ensures an adequate textual fit with the rest of the information presented so far. The text producer assigns the status of *Retrievable* information to those elements which establish some type of relational link with their preceding cotext, with the discourse situation or with the assumed world knowledge shared between the interlocutors. Those other elements whose antecedent referents cannot be retrieved from the preceding cotext or from the discourse situation, nor can they be inferred from the assumed world knowledge are presented as *New*.

Retrievability is a scalar phenomenon: it is possible to establish different degrees of retrievability of message elements on the basis of the difficulty of accessing the antecedent referent. Thus, an element mentioned in the previous message is easily accessible or *Given*: in example (39) below,

the element *la* (in bold) has been mentioned in the previous clause. Therefore it is *Given* information:

(39) *¿Con quién está   haciendo   la   tesis?*
(40) ***La** estoy   haciendo con   el   catedrático de Paleontología de Granada.*

An element is *Accessible* when its referent has not been mentioned, but can be inferred through some kind of relation to a referent in the previous discourse, or in the communicative context, or in the assumed world knowledge of the hearer, or a combination thereof. Thus, in example (41) below, the Noun Group *el sello y el sobre* (in bold) is *Accessible* information since it refers to a part of the previously introduced discourse referent *una carta*.

(41) *El catorce de enero de 1922, Emma Zunz, al volver de la fábrica de tejidos Tarbuch y Loewenthal, halló en el fondo del zaguán una carta, fechada en el Brasil, por la que supo que su padre había muerto. La engañaron, a primera vista, **el sello y el sobre**.* (Emma Zunz)

In example (42) below, both the addressed persona and the element *el vaso de agua* (the glass of water) are *Accessible* information since they are part of the communicative context of the situation.

(42) *Pásame el vaso de agua* (CE, La muerte de Artemio Cruz)
    'Pass me the glass of water'

Similarly, the element *el cielo de Madrid* (Madrid's sky) is *Accessible* information since it can be assumed from the shared world knowledge between the interlocutors.

(43) *El cielo de Madrid es purísimo* (CE, Artículos)
    'Madrid's sky is extremely pure'

Finally, an element which lacks an antecedent in the previous discourse, or is not part of the discourse situation, or is not accessible via some relational reasoning is assigned the status of *New*.

As illustrated by the examples above, the typical realization mechanism for the expression of *Retrievable* information is through the use of 'phoric' and lexical relations, while *New* information is not associated with phoricity, but uses a number of resources such as indefiniteness, or first mention.

Some of the typical realizations for several types of *Retrievable* information are the following:

(i)   *Given* information is typically realized through anaphora, as in example (40) above, where the element *la* is anaphoric with respect to its referent *la tesis.*

(ii) *Accessible* information uses mechanisms such as homophora, exophora or lexical relations, depending on the nature of the link with the antecedent referent. For example, homophora is typically used when the referent of the expression can be assumed as part of the shared world knowledge among interlocutors. Typical homophoric expressions are those unique objects within some definable community of any size (nations, states, businesses, offices, families). The expression *el cielo de Madrid* (Madrid's sky) in example (43) above refers to a unique object whose referent is assumed as part of the shared world knowledge of the community of Spanish speakers.

Exophora is used when the referent can be retrieved from the non-verbal situational context, as in example (42) above, where the element *el vaso de agua* can be retrieved from the non-verbal context.

Lexical relations are used when the referent cannot be retrieved directly from the verbal context but has to be inferred through indirect means, such as the so-called bridging relations (Haviland and Clark 1974). These include part–whole relations, set relations, and entity–attribute relations among others. In a part–whole relation the referent is a part of a larger whole, as in example (41) above, where the stamp and the envelope are a part of the letter mentioned in the preceding message. In a set relation the referent is part of a subset/superset/member-of relation to a referent in the preceding discourse. In an entity–attribute relation the referent constitutes an attribute of a referent in the preceding discourse, as in (44) below, where the elements *su olor, sus brisas, su frescura, su movimiento, su ruido* are all attributes of the referent *el mar* (the sea) in the previous message:

(44) *El mar! ¡ El mar! **Su olor**, sus brisas, su frescura, su movimiento, su ruido*
      (CE, La Alpujarra)
      'The sea, the sea. His scent, his breeze, his freshness, his movement, his noise.'

Table 5.4 summarizes the different options and realizations of *Retrievable* information in Spanish. In spite of the tabular representation, the options

Table 5.4 Retrievable information in Spanish

Paradigmatic options				Typical realizations	
Retrievable	Given			Anaphora	Example (40)
	Accessible	Situational		Exophora	Example (42)
		Inferrable	World Knowledge	Homophora	Example (43)
			Bridging	Lexical relations	Example (44)

are not conceptualized as disjunctive choices, but as points along a scale of retrievability.

5.5.2 Information *Focus*

The notion of information *Focus* has been the object of study of several cross-linguistic functional accounts. For S. Dik, the father of Functional Grammar (FG), 'focal information in a linguistic expression is that information which is relatively the most important or salient in the given communicative setting, and considered by S (speaker) to be most essential for A (addressee) to integrate into his pragmatic information' (Dik 1997: 326). This definition is conceptually similar to the notion of information *Focus* proposed by Halliday, though in FG and other linguistic accounts (cf. Dik et al. 1981: 59; Silva-Corvalán 1984) the *Focus* function is not necessarily *New* information, when *New* is interpreted as an informational status of the message referents, as shown above.

Our account of information *Focus* in Spanish will be based on a discourse processing perspective previously proposed by Lavid (2000b: 363) in the dynamic context of automated discourse production. The definition of *Focus* is the following:

> *Focus* is the locus, within each message, of principal inferential effort. It is that/those concept(s) most relevant for processing on which the speaker wants the hearer to spend the most thought.

Focus is dynamically assigned by the text producer in the construction of discourse by identifying the concept(s) which are most central to the mental processing (the inferences) required by the listener to understand the message, and to follow a coherent progression of information. By signalling

these central concepts as the *Focus*, the speaker is saying: 'Concentrate your thoughts around this. This is where I want your thinking to start' (Lavid 2000a: 363–364).[9]

When producing his/her message, the producer has the option to focalize on certain parts of the message and leaving others in the background. Those parts which he/she considers to be most relevant for processing and on which he/she wants his/her interlocutor to spend the most thought will be *focal*, while the rest will be *non-focal*.

There are several factors which play a role in the decision to focalize and several communicative effects intended, as described by different authors (Dik 1997; Dipper et al. 2007: 171). These factors are the basis to establish a taxonomy of *Focus types*, as follows:

In the process of message construction the producer focalizes certain parts of the message for different reasons:

(i)   To present some piece of information as *New*. This is called *New Focus*. The decision to present some information as *New* is not necessarily dependent on the information status of the participants involved, but is motivated by the communicative purposes of the speaker in a given communicative context.

(ii) Another important factor in the speaker's assignment of *Focus* is the speaker's desire to bring out the particular differences and similarities between two or more communicated contents (pieces of information). In order to achieve the desired communicative effect, the speaker selects some information that evokes a notion of contrast to some semantically and/or syntactically parallel element of another utterance. This is called *Contrastive Focus* (C-F). This type of *Focus* may be further subdivided into *Parallel Focus* and *Counter-Presuppositional Focus*.

(iii) One final factor which plays a role in the assignment of information *Focus* is the speaker's desire that the addressee should attend particularly to a subact. This is called *Emphatic Focus*, following the characterization provided by Quirk et al. (1972). This is a purely emotive emphasis, signalling the prominence of a single element or the whole predication, which is not associated with New information or with any kind of contrast.

These three general *Focus types* and their subtypes, together with their most typical realizational patterns are summarized in Table 5.5 and explained in detail in the following subsections. The examples included in the table are quoted again in the corresponding subsections below. It should also be noted that the table only displays the main paradigmatic

Table 5.5 Focus types and their typical realizations in Spanish

Paradigmatic options			Typical realizations	Examples
New Focus	Non-contrastive	Running text	– Special constituent order: Post-verbal Subject	– Example (46)
	New and Contrast		– Special focus construction: Predicated Theme	– Example (62)
Contrastive Focus	Parallel		– Special focus construction: Marked Theme	– Example (52)
	Counter-presuppositional	Replacing	– Special constituent order: Postverbal Subject	– Example (53)
		Selective	– Special constituent order: Post-verbal Subject	– Example (54)
		Confirmation	– Special focus markers: *sí/sí que* marker	– Example (55)
Emphatic Focus			– Special focus markers: lexical marker	– Example (57, 58, 59)

options and the non-prosodic mechanisms of *Focus* realization in Spanish, since these are the preferred ones in this language. This tendency contrasts with the preferred use of prosodic prominence in English to realize certain types of *Focus.*[10]

5.5.2.1 New Focus

As outlined above, one of the factors why text producers focus on certain parts of the message and not on others is to present some piece of information as *New.* This is called *New Focus.* There are two possible contexts where *New Focus* occurs: question-answering sequences and running text.

In question-answering sequences, the *New Focus* is that part of the utterance which solicits and/or provides the new and missing information which serves to develop the discourse. *Questioning New Focus* refers to the information solicited in wh-interrogative utterances, as illustrated by the element *qué especialidad* in the speaker's question of example (45) below. *Completive New Focus* refers to the information supplied in the corresponding answering sequence (in all the examples below the information *Focus* is in capital letters):

(45) S: *¿QUÉ ESPECIALIDAD   hiciste?* (CE, Interview SE-14)
      What specialization   do-2s P Indi?
      'What specialization did you take?'

¿Qué especialidad	*hiciste?*
Questioning New Focus (Q-NF)	

      A: Hice   HISTORIA,   que es   lo único   que se podía estudiar entonces.
      do-1s P Indi History, which is the only   which could study at that
                                                      time
      'I studied History, which was the only thing that could be studied at that time'

Hice	*HISTORIA,*	*que es lo único que se podía estudiar entonces*
	Completive New Focus (C-NF)	

In running text the *New Focus* can be *Presentative or Non-Presentative.* The *Presentative New Focus* occurs in constructions containing the following process types:

(i) *Presentative and relational processes* (e.g. *ser* 'be', *aparecer* 'appear', *surgir* 'emerge', *morir* 'die')

(46) *En ese momento apareció*   *EL GENDARME* (CE, Hijo de ladrón)
      In that moment   appear-3s P   the policeman
      'In that moment the policeman appeared'

(ii) *Verbs of movement/direction (arribar* 'arrive', *ascender* 'ascend', *bajar* 'go
      down', *caer* 'fall', *descender* 'descend', *entrar* 'go in', *llegar* 'arrive', *partir*
      'depart', *salir* 'leave', *subir* 'go up', *venir* 'come', etc.), sometimes pre-
      ceded by a Location Circumstance in thematic position.

(47) *Por la ventana*   *entraba*   *UNA DÉBIL VOZ (CE, Función patronal)*
      Through the window   enter-3s P   a weak voice
      'Through the window a weak voice could be heard'

(iii) *Existential verbs* (e.g. *abundar* 'be abundant', *acaecer* 'happen', *durar*
      'last', *escasear* 'be scarce', *figurar* 'appear', *menudear* 'happen fre-
      quently', *ocurrir* 'take place', *quedar* 'remain', *subsistir* 'subsist').

(48) *Existen*   *indudablemente PARTIDOS ILEGALES* (CE, Artículos. N.
      Villoslada)
      exist- 3p Pr Indi undoubtedly   illegal parties
      'There are undoubtedly illegal parties'

As illustrated by the examples above, the most typical realization of the *New
Focus* in presentative contexts is the placement of the Subject after the
verb.

   Non-Presentative Focus can occur in two main contexts, giving rise to two
more delicate options: *Specific* or *General*.

   Specific occurs in constructions introduced by emotive-type verbs (e.g. *gus-
tar* 'like', *fascinar* 'fascinate') or pseudo-impersonal process types (e.g. *faltar*
'lack', *bastar* 'suffice', *parecer* 'appear', *quedar* 'remain') with an inanimate
Subject (Alcina and Blecua 1982: 895; Hernanz and Brucart 1987: 78). This
is illustrated by examples (49) and (50) below. The typical realization of
this Focus type is the placement of the Subject in post-verbal position.

(49) *Me gustan mucho   LOS AUTORES SUDAMERICANOS* (CE, Interview
      SE-4)
      Me like-3s Pr   a lot   the authors Southamerican
      'I like Southamerican writers a lot'

(50) *Les*   *falta*   *EL HÁBITO DE LA LIBERTAD* (CE, Entrevista ABC)
      Them lack-3s Pr the habit of freedom
      'They are not used to freedom'

General is the default option, that is, the assignment of the *New Focus* in those contexts that are not the specific ones presented below. This is a frequent choice in running text, and is typically realized by placing in clause-final position that material which provides the requested information to an implicit question. Take, for example, clause (2) of text 3 above, reproduced as example (51) for convenience below. In order to identify the *New Focus* an implicit question is posed (in parenthesis below the example clause). The information which provides the answer to the implicit question is the *New Focus* (in bold), realized in clause-final position, following the principle of end-focus:

(51) *Los cuatro puntos cardinales de esta plaza sin puertas nos llevan A CUATRO
       CULTURAS DIFERENTES.*
       IQ: Where do the four cardinal points of the Puerta del Sol lead us?

5.5.2.2 *Contrastive Focus*

Contrastive Focus occurs when the speaker selects some information that evokes a notion of contrast to some semantically and/or syntactically parallel element of another utterance. This type of *Focus* may be further subdivided into *Parallel Focus* and *Counter-Presuppositional Focus*.

   Parallel Focus involves a contrast between two linguistic expressions, in the form of a strict opposition or as a parallelism. In example (52) below, the contrast is established as a parallelism: at the interviewer's question whether the informant used to speak English very well, the informant replies that he/she spoke English incorrectly, and then establishes a parallelism with Spanish. The most frequent realization mechanism is the thematization of clausal elements, as illustrated by example (52) below, where the element *el español* is a marked Theme construction which serves to establish a parallelism with the English language in the previous utterance.

(52) ENC: *Oye, ¿ y hablabas muy bien inglés?* (CE, Habla Culta, Mexico, M31)
            'Did you speak English very well?
       INF: *No. Sí, sí lo hablaba. Sí lo hablaba, pero muy bien, no. Muy . . . bas-
             tante incorrectamente. Bueno, eso se da . . . su propio idioma de uno lo
             habla incorrectamente ¿ ves?*
             'No. Yes, I did speak it. I did speak it, but not very well. Very . . .
             quite badly. Well, that happens . . . One speaks one's own lan-
             guage rather badly, you see?'
       ENC: *Sí, claro.*
             'Yes, of course.'

INF: *EL ESPAÑOL lo hablaba también incorrectamente.*
'I spoke Spanish rather badly too.'

Counter-Presuppositional Focus (or *Contrary-to-Expectation Focus*) involves a contrast between the speaker's and the addressee's pragmatic information, and can be further subdivided into several subtypes: *Replacing, Selective* and *Confirmation Focus.*

The addressee's answer in example (53) below illustrates the *Replacing* subtype, which corrects the contextually given information in the speaker's question by replacing parts of it for suppletive information. The element 'Sevilla', the Subject of the second clause, is the *Replacing Focus*:

(53) S: *¿Le gustaría   más BARCELONA,   por ejemplo?* (CE, Interview SE-4)
       You like-3s   more Barcelona,   for example?
       'You would prefer Barcelona, for example?'
   A: *No, no,   me gusta   más SEVILLA*
       No, no,   me like-3s   more Sevilla
       'No, no, I prefer Seville'

No, no, me gusta más	*SEVILLA*
Non-focal	Focal: C-Focus: Replacing

In the *Selective* subtype, an element out of a given set of explicitly expressed alternatives is selected. The classic instance of a selective focus is found in answers to alternative questions, as in example (54):

(54) S: *Y   ¿QUÉ te gusta   más,   EL CAMPO   o LA PLAYA?* (CE, Int. SE-7)
       And, what you like-2s more, the countryside or the beach?
       'And, what do you like best, the countryside or the beach?'

¿Qué te gusta más	*EL CAMPO o LA PLAYA*
	C-Focus

   A: *Me gusta   más   LA PLAYA*
       Me like-3s   more   the beach
       'I prefer the beach'

Me gusta más	*LA PLAYA*
	C-Focus (Selective)

As illustrated by the elements 'Sevilla' in example (53) and 'la playa' in example (54) above, the most typical realization for *Replacing* and *Selective Focus* is the placement of the Subject in post-verbal position.

One final subtype is the so-called *Confirmation Focus*. In this subtype the producer confirms the information supplied by the interlocutor. This is illustrated in the short dialogue below. The interlocutors are talking about how they were taught the history of the French Revolution by a lecturer and the story of Napoleon. The first speaker (S1) states that the teacher taught about Napoleon. His/her interlocutor (S2) confirms this information by repeating and using the focus marker 'sí que' as a realization mechanism:

(55a) S1: *Napoleón lo dio él.*
            'He did teach Napoleon'

(55b) S2: *Sí. Napoleón SÍ QUE LO DIO ÉL.* (CE, Habla Culta, Madrid, M24)
            'Yes. He did teach about Napoleon'

The use of the *sí* marker as the realization of the *Confirmation Focus* is also exemplified in (56) below, where the clause introduced by the *sí* marker confirms the information presented in the previous clause:

(56) *Si el arte, hoy día, sigue cumpliendo una función – y en mi opinión, SÍ QUE LA CUMPLE*
      'If art nowadays has a function and, in my opinion, it does have a function'

5.5.2.3 Emphatic Focus

One final factor which plays a role in the assignment of information *Focus* is the speaker's desire that the addressee should attend particularly to a subact. This is called *Emphatic Focus*, following the characterization provided by Quirk et al. (1972). This is a purely emotive emphasis, signalling the prominence of a single element or the whole predication, which is not associated with *New* information or with any kind of contrast, as illustrated by example (57) below, where the speaker wishes to emphasize the absence of aspirins:

(57) *Pero es que a veces NI ASPIRINAS hay.* (CE, Habla Culta: San José)
      'But sometimes there are absolutely no aspirines'

When the *Focus* is Emphatic, Spanish uses different realizational mechanisms. The most frequent one is the use of special focus markers or focalizers such as '*mismo*', '*hasta*', '*ni*' to signal the element in *Focus* (López Meirama 2006: 41), as in examples (58), (59) and (60) below:

(58) *ELLA MISMA abrió la portezuela y le invitó* (CE, El camino)
     'She herself opened the window and invited him'

(59) *Pero HASTA ESO ya me estaba vedado* (CE, Los hombres de Celina)
     'But even that was forbidden to me'

(60) *Pero es que a veces NI ASPIRINAS hay.* (CE, Habla Culta: San José)
     'But sometimes there are absolutely no aspirines'

5.5.2.4 Special focus constructions

A frequent non-prosodic mechanism to realize the *Focus* function in Spanish is the use of the so-called special focus constructions. These are constructions which combine the *Theme* and the *Focus* functions into one syntagmatic structure to achieve characteristic textual effects. In the SF literature these constructions have been studied as thematizing structures (Halliday 1994: 40), since they also exploit the thematic resources of the clause, as we will see below. The two main types are *Thematic Equatives* and *Predicated Themes.* Our account will preserve the SF terminology but will also highlight their function as syntactic mechanisms used in Spanish to realize the *Focus* function.[11]

5.5.2.4.1 Thematic equatives

This type of construction, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 42) is an identifying clause which has a thematic nominalization in it. Its functions are (a) to identify what the *Theme* of the clause is; and (b) to identify it or equate it with the *Rheme,* as in the formula below:

  Nominalized Theme = Rheme

In Spanish Thematic equatives are introduced by a *lo que* nominalized clause as *Theme* and equated with a clause or an inanimate entity as *Rheme,* as illustrated by the last sentence of example (61) below:

(61) *Lo que queremos* *es* *SABER EL TÍTULO* (CE, España oral)
     What we want   is   to know the title
     'What we want is to know the title'

Lo que queremos	*es SABER EL TÍTULO*
Thematic field	Rhematic field

The *lo que* clause in initial position serves two simultaneous functions: it identifies the *Theme* usually relating it to material in the preceding discourse, thus having a cohesive function. Informationally, this construction serves a number of functions: while the relative clause introduced by *lo que* usually presents recoverable or at least inferable information (often contrastive or anticipatory), the material following the copular verb is highlighted as the information *Focus*, often with a component of 'exclusiveness' or 'uniqueness'.[12] In example (61) above, the infinitival clause *saber el título* is highlighted as the *Focus* of *New* information. Indeed, the use of this construction, together with the *Predicated Theme*, is the second most frequent mechanism for the encoding of *New Focus* in Spanish, after the placement of the Subject in post-verbal position (see Martínez Caro 1999: 234).

While, in the typical instance, the *lo que* is thematic, it is also possible, however, to have the reverse type of arrangement, as in (62) below:

(62) *ESO   es   lo que   pienso   de la familia* (CE, Interview SE-04)
      That   is   what   think-1s   of the familys
      'That is what I think of the family'

ESO	*es lo que pienso de la familia*
Thematic field	Rhematic field
Focus	

In this case, the element in the *Thematic field* – usually the determiner *eso* or *esto*– is highlighted as the information *Focus*, usually contrastive with some material in the preceding discourse, while the *lo que* clause follows the Verb in rhematic position.

5.5.2.4.2 *Predicated Themes*

The second type of construction where the *Theme* and *Focus* functions are combined is the one known as *Predicated Theme* in the SFG literature. Formally, the construction consists of two parts – (a) an initial thematic segment consisting of the copular verb followed by the element in *Focus*; and (b) a rhematic segment realized by a relative-like clause, as shown below:

COPULA	FOCUS	RELATIVE CLAUSE
Thematic field		Rhematic field

Examples (63), (64) and (65) below illustrate the pattern:

(63) *Fue*   *FERMÍN*   *el que*   *me dejó triste* (CE, El destino, el barro y
                                             la coneja)
     be-3s Past   Fermin   who   me left sad
     'It was Fermín who left me sad'

(64) *Fueron*   *ELLOS quienes*   *decidieron poner límite a la amenaza* (CE,
                                Cristianismo)
     be-3p Past them who   decided to put limit   to the threat
     'They were the ones who decided to put an end to the threat'

(65) *Fue ALLÍ*   *donde murieron muchos soldados* (CE, Col. Semana)
     be-3p Past   where   died   many soldiers
     'It was there where many soldiers died'

As illustrated by the examples above, different elements can be in *Focus*, but the most frequent ones are Nominal Groups functioning as Subjects, as in (63) and (64). This is probably due to the identificational nature of the construction (Gómez-González and Gonzálvez-García 2005: 169). Also, the examples above illustrate the combined textual effect achieved by both thematic prominence and by *Focus* assignment. The clefting strategy gives salience to elements which would not normally carry prominence – the elements *Fermín*, *ellos* and *allí* would not normally carry prominence in non-predicated unmarked textual arrangements, as in (66), (67) and (68) below:

(66) *Fermín me dejó triste*

(67) *Ellos decidieron poner límite a la amenaza*

(68) *Allí murieron muchos soldados*

In these non-predicated versions, the reader will not be led to interpret the elements *Fermín*, *ellos* or *allí* as the *Focus*, since these are unmarked textual arrangements where the *Focus* falls on the last lexical item of the information unit. The predicated versions are useful strategies to highlight these elements as the *Focus* of information.

5.5.2.5 Focus domain

Alongside the motivations behind the assignment of information *Focus*, captured by the *Focus* types system above, the speaker also has to decide on

the scope or domain of the *Focus*. The *Focus* types presented above can be assigned to the whole information unit (*All-Focus*) or just to some element of it (*Narrow Focus*). When the utterance is produced in response to a question, the decision on the domain of the *Focus* depends on the information already presupposed by the question. Thus, answers to questions like 'What's new', or 'What's going on?' – with no presupposed information – are examples of *All-Focus utterances*, as in (69) below:

(69a)   *¿Qué sucede, qué pasa?* (CE, E. Castelar. La hermana de la caridad)
         'What's the matter, what happens?'

(69b)   *HOY NO TENEMOS   NI UN PEDAZO DE PAN*
         Today no have-1p Pr   not even one piece of bread
         'Today we don't even have a piece of bread'

Polar questions and their answers are also cases of *All-Focus* utterances since they are expressed to identify the truth-value of the entire proposition, as illustrated by (70a) and (70b) below:

(70a)   *¿USTED ES DE SEVILLA?*

(70b)   *Sí, sí. NACIDA AQUÍ.*

The domain of the Focus is *Narrow* when it is assigned only to some part of the information unit. The focused element may be the Process followed by Participants and/or Circumstances or be restricted to just certain features of the Process (such as its Polarity or Modality) or to one Participant, Circumstance or Adjunct. Examples (71) and (72) below illustrate some of these possibilities. Example (71) illustrates the assignment of the *Narrow Focus* to just one Participant – the Senser of the Mental Process – that is, the element *la especialidad*. Interestingly, this assignment is realized by thematizing the focused element and adding the clitic *la* in the clause configuration.

(71)   [Talking about his university studies . . .]
        Pero   LA ESPECIALIDAD   no la recuerdo con mucho cariño,   vamos.
        (MC, MA-5)   But   the SPECIALIZATION   not (it) remember with much affection, to say the truth.
        'But I don't remember the specialization studies with much affection, to say the truth.'

Example (72) illustrates a case of *Narrow Focus* assigned to the Polarity feature of Process (*sí tenía*). In this case, the *sí* marker signals the contrast between the negative polarity in the previous sentence and the positive polarity in the current one.

(72) *Por lo visto yo,   si no   tenía uso de razón,   SÍ TENÍA por lo menos,*
     uso de fantasía. (MC, SE-9)
     Apparently I,   if not   have-1s Past common sense, PPM have-3s Past
     at least, fantasy.
     'Apparently, though I did not have common sense, I certainly did
     have, at least, fantasy.'

5.6 Thematic and information structures in discourse

In the previous section we have seen how *Theme* and *Focus* interact in certain clausal constructions to achieve characteristic textual effects. This interaction is not restricted to the clausal level, but also operates in discourse. In order to illustrate the discourse effects of this interaction in different discourse types, we will use for convenience two texts previously analysed in terms of their thematic structure. These are text 3, as an example of a written monologic spatial description, and text 4, as an example of a dialogic interaction. We begin with the analysis of the dialogic text.

5.6.1 Theme and Focus in dialogue

The following presents a combined *thematic* and *Focus* analysis of text 4 above, an extract from an interview. The analysis is done clause by clause, following the sequence of interventions of the dialogue participants:

(1)

USTED	*ES DE SEVILLA?*
Theme	Rheme
New Focus	

(2)

Sí, sí.	*NACIDA AQUÍ*
	Rheme
	New Focus

(3)

Y MIS PADRES	*TAMBIÉN*
Theme	Rheme
	New Focus

(4)

y A QUÉ	*se dedica actualmente?*
Thematic field	Rhematic field
New Focus	Non-focal

(5)

Estoy	*DE ADJUNTO EN ESTA CÁTEDRA*
Thematic field	Rhematic field
Non-focal	New Focus

(6)

y estoy	*haciendo*	*LA TESIS DE MICROPALEONTOLOGÍA*
Thematic field	Rhematic field	
Non-focal		New Focus

(7)

La	*estoy*	*TERMINANDO*	*ya*
Thematic field	Rhematic field		
Non-focal		New Focus	

(8)

O sea, la	*estoy*	*REDACTANDO*
Thematic field	Rhematic field	
Non-focal		New Focus

(9)

CON QUIÉN	*está haciendo la tesis?*
Thematic field	Rhematic field
Questioning New Focus	Non-focal

(10)

La	*estoy haciendo*	*CON EL CATEDRÁTICO DE PALEONTOLOGÍA DE GRANADA*
Thematic field	Rhematic field	
Non-focal		Completive New Focus

(11)

Y LLEVA	*MUCHO TIEMPO AQUÍ TRABAJANDO?*
Thematic field	Rhematic field
New Focus (All-focus)	

(12)

SEIS AÑOS
Rheme
New Focus

(13)

HIZO	*LA CARRERA AQUÍ TAMBIÉN?*
Thematic field	Rhematic field
New Focus	

(14)

No.	*EN MADRID*
	Rhematic field
	Contrastive Focus (Replacing)

The patterns which emerge from the analysis of the thematic and the informational structures in text 4 are the following:

(i) *All-Focus* type utterances (polar questions) are coextensive with the thematic structure of the clause covering both the *Thematic* and the *Rhematic* fields. This can be observed in clauses (1), (11) and (13).

(ii) The answers to these polar questions are also *All-focus* type utterances, but they tend to conflate only with the *Rhematic field*, since the thematic part – being contextually recoverable – is ellipsed. This can be observed in clauses (2), (12) and (14). When the *Thematic field* is present, as in (3), the *Focus* covers both the *Thematic* and the *Rhematic* fields.

(iii) *Questioning-Focus* utterances (wh-questions) conflate the wh-element in *Focus* with the *Thematic field*, more specifically, with the *Thematic Head*, as in (4) and (9).

(iv) The answers to these wh-questions conflate the *New Focus* with part of the *Rhematic field*, while the *Thematic field* usually conflates with *Given* information, as in (5), (6), (7), (8) and (10).

Figure 5.2 is a graphic display of these interactional patterns, also showing the progression of information from clause to clause which characterizes

1.   New Focus /Theme-Rheme

2.   New Focus / Rheme

3.   New Focus /Theme-Rheme

4.   Q- New Focus /Theme   -> Non-focal/Rheme

5.   Non-focal /Theme   ->   New Focus/Rheme

6.   Non-focal /Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme

7.   Non-focal /Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme

8.   Non-focal /Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme

9.   New Focus/Theme   -> Non-focal /Rheme

10. Non-focal /Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme

11. Non-focal /Theme-Rheme

12. Non-focal /Rheme

13. New Focus/Theme-Rheme

14. Contrastive Focus / Rheme

FIGURE 5.2   Progression of information in dialogic text

this type of dialogic text. (In the graph the / symbol indicates the conflation or co-occurrence of elements from the thematic and the informational structures, while the -> symbol indicates the progression of information from one element to the other.)

As Figure 5.2 shows, there are two main types of information progression in this dialogue. One type of progression is associated with question–answer sequences. Depending on the type of question we can find different conflations of *Theme* and *Focus*. In wh-questions, the *Focus* and the *Theme* coincide in the same wording in the question, but are reversed in the answer sequence, as shown by the sequences (4), (5), (6) and (9)–(10). In polar questions, the *Focus* covers the whole *Theme-Rheme* structure in the question segment, but conflates only with the *Rheme* in the answer. This can be observed in the sequences (11)–(12) and (13)–(14). These conflations can be explained by the communicative nature of the exchanges: in wh-questions the speaker thematizes and focalizes only the wh-element about which he/she wants to be told something. In polar questions, however, the whole *Theme-Rheme* structure is the *New Focus*, since the speaker is interested in the polarity of the whole predication.

The other type of progression is associated with the monologic parts of the dialogue, as illustrated by the sequences (6), (7) and (8), and (9–10) below. Here the progression is one where the *New Focal* information in the first message becomes *non-focal* when retrieved in the *Theme* of the following message. This progression establishes a link between successive clauses thus increasing the cohesiveness of the dialogue.

5.6.2 Theme and Focus in monologue

To illustrate the interaction between *Theme* and *information Focus* in monologic texts, we will use a spatial description, as exemplified by text 3, previously analysed in terms of *Theme-Rheme* in section 5.3.2 above.

Before illustrating the combined thematic and focal analysis, we will first explain the strategy adopted for *Focus* assignment, based on the one used in question–answer sequences: we assume that for each message in a running text a preceding implicit question exists. That part of the message that supplies the new or missing information according to the implicit question is the information that carries the discourse further and is therefore assigned the status of *New Focus*. The rest of the message is *non-focal*. The implicit question is formulated in general terms on the basis of the material which can be retrieved from the preceding discourse or from the communicative

context. This is illustrated in the analysis below, where the part of the message which receives the *Focus* is in capital letters and the implied question (IQ) appears between parentheses immediately after each text message:

Assignment of New Focus in text 3

1 *El mejor punto de partida para conocer la ciudad de madrid es, sin duda, LA PUERTA DEL SOL.*
(IQ: What is the best point to get to know the city of Madrid?)

2. *Los cuatro puntos cardinales de esta plaza sin puertas nos llevan A CUATRO CULTURAS DIFERENTES.*
(IQ: Where do the four cardinal points of the Puerta del Sol lead us?)

9. *Al norte, LAS CALLES COMERCIALES;*
(IQ: What type of culture is there to the North of the gate?)

10. *Al sur, EL MADRID MÁS POPULAR Y CASTIZO DE LAVAPIÉS;*
(IQ: What type of culture is there to the South of the gate?)

11. *Al oeste, EL MADRID DE LAS CLASES ACOMODADAS*
(IQ: What type of culture is there to the West of the gate?)

12. *y al este, por las calles Mayor o Arenal, llegamos A LA CUNA DE LA CIUDAD.*
(IQ: Where do we arrive when we go to the East of the gate, through the streets of Mayor or Arenal?)

13. *Donde hoy se levanta el Palacio Real, CONSTRUYERON LOS ÁRABES SU ALCÁZAR ALLÁ POR EL SIGLO VIII DE NUESTRA ERA,*
(IQ: What happened in the location where today the Royal Palace is erected?)

14. *mientras que a su derecha COMENZABAN A TRAZARSE LAS PRIMERAS CALLES DE MAYRIT.*
(IQ: What happened to the right of the 'Alcázar'?)

The combined analysis of the thematic and the focal structures in text 3 is presented in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Theme and New Focus in monologue

Clause #	Thematic field		Rhematic field	
		Non-focal		New Focus
1	*El mejor punto de partida para conocer la ciudad de Madrid*		*es, sin duda,*	*la Puerta del Sol.*
2	*Los cuatro puntos cardinales de esta plaza sin puertas*		*nos llevan*	*a cuatro culturas diferentes*
3	*Al norte*			*las calles comerciales.*
4	*Al sur*			*el Madrid más popular y castizo de Lavapiés.*
5	*Al oeste*			*el Madrid de las clases acomodadas.*
6	*Al este,*	*por las calles Mayor o Arenal, llegamos*		*a la cuna de la ciudad*
7	*Donde hoy se levanta el Palacio Real,*	3p Past Indi		*construyeron los árabes su Alcázar allá por el siglo VIII de nuestra era,*
8	*mientras que a su derecha*	3p Past Indi		*comenzaban a trazarse las primeras calles de Mayrit*

The patterns which emerge from the analysis are the following:

(i)   *New Focal* status is assigned to those elements on which the writer wishes the reader to focus his/her attention due to their relevance for discourse processing. *New focal* information tends to fall towards the end of the message, following the principle of end-focus (Leech and Short 1981: 212), and conflating with (part of) the *Rhematic field*. Thus, for example, in clause (1) the *New Focus* is the Subject element la *Puerta del Sol*, since this is the information that the writer considers most relevant/salient for processing the rest of the text. Here, the Subject is placed in post-verbal position at the end of the clause, to highlight it with respect to the other message elements.

(ii) *Non-focal* status is assigned to those elements which are less prominent in the development of discourse, providing the background for new information pieces. *Non-focal* elements are usually placed in initial position, thus coinciding with the *Thematic field* of the message.

(iii) The progression of information in this text follows two main strategies: one linear type of progression where the *New Focus* in the first message becomes *non-focal* in the immediately following one. At the same time, this *non-focal* information serves as the point of departure which looks back and lays the foundation (the Theme) for what is to come in the following message. This happens in clauses (1–2), and in (7–8).

A second strategy is the one exemplified in clauses (3), (4) and (5). Here the *thematic non-focal information* in each individual message makes reference to each of the four cardinal points (North, South, West, East), previously introduced in (2), while the *Focal* information specifies the different cultures of Madrid which can be found in these locations. This boxed-type development (Ping 2005) serves a focusing function in a text. It draws and focuses our attention on specific points of interest of the text: on the one hand, on the four cardinal points of the Puerta del Sol, and on the other hand, on the four different cultures of the city of Madrid.

The patterns which emerge from the analysis are graphically represented as in Figure 5.3.

5.7 Spanish–English textual contrasts

This section describes certain interesting contrasts between the Spanish and the English thematic and informational structures, focusing mainly on those aspects where both languages diverge. The description is based on

1. Non-focal/Theme -> New Focus/Rheme

2. Non-focal/Theme -> New Focus/Rheme

3. Non-focal/Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme

4. Non-focal/Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme

5. Non-focal/Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme

6. Non-focal/Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme

7. Non-focal/Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme

8. Non-focal/Theme   -> New Focus/Rheme
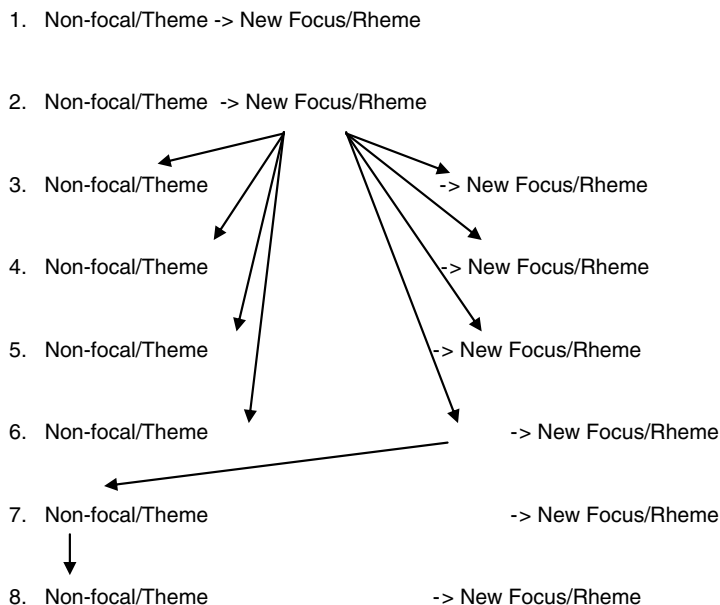
FIGURE 5.3   Progression of information in monologic text

existing corpus-based studies (Lavid (in press); Arús 2004a; Arús (in press)), and on illustrative corpus examples, as well as on the contrastive analysis of an original Spanish text and its translation into English.

5.7.1 Thematic contrasts

When studying the thematic structure of the Spanish clause we proposed a characterization consisting of two main functionally distinct zones or fields: the *Thematic field* and the *Rhematic field*. Within the *Thematic field* we distinguished between the *Inner Thematic field* and the *Outer Thematic field*, as fulfilling different functional roles. We explained that the *Inner Thematic field* consists of elements selected from the experiential structure of the clause, and that it is possible to distinguish between the *Thematic Head* and the *Pre-Head*.

When comparing this characterization with the available ones for English in the SF literature, the main differences between English and Spanish can be observed in the selection of interpersonal and experiential roles as *Thematic Head* and *Pre-Head* and in the mapping between these roles (see Lavid (in press)).

To illustrate these differences we will analyse the experiential and inter-personal selections as *Thematic Head* and *Pre-Head* in the clauses of an original Spanish text and compare them with those of the corresponding English translation. We will use text 2 above, reproduced below for convenience (elements of the *Inner Thematic field* are underlined in the original and the translation):

Text 2: Extract from 'Emma Zunz' by Jorge Luis Borges. (In *Spanish Short Stories. Penguin Parallel Texts.* Penguin Books 1966: 14)

1. *El catorce de enero de 1922, Emma Zunz, al volver de la fábrica de tejidos Tarbuch y Loewenthal, halló en el fondo del zaguán una carta, fechada en el Brasil, por la que supo que su padre había muerto.*
    'On the fourteenth of January 1922, Emma Zunz when she returned home from the Tarbuch and Loewenthal textile mills, Emma Zunz discovered in the rear of the entrance hall a letter, posted in Brazil, which informed her that her father had died.'

2. *La engañaron, a primera vista, el sello y el sobre;*
    'The stamp and the envelope deceived her at first;'

3. *luego, la inquietó la letra desconocida.*
    'then the unfamiliar handwriting made her uneasy.'

4. *Nueve o diez líneas borroneadas querían colmar la hoja;*
    'Nine or ten scribbled words tried to fill up the page;'

5. *Emma leyó que el señor Maier había ingerido por error una fuerte dosis de vero-nal y había fallecido el tres del corriente en el hospital de Bagé.*
    'Emma read that Mr Maier had taken by mistake a large dose of vero-nal and had died on the third of the month in the hospital of Bagé.'

6. *Un compañero de pensión de su padre firmaba la noticia, un tal Fein or Fain, de Río Grande, que no podía saber que se dirigía a la hija del muerto.*
    'A boarding-house friend of her father had signed her the letter, some Fein or Fain, from Río Grande, with no way of knowing that he was addressing the deceased's daughter.'

7. *Emma dejó caer el papel.*
    'Emma dropped the piece of paper.'

8. *Su primera impresión fue de malestar en el vientre y en las rodillas;*
    'Her first impression was of a weak feeling in her stomach and her knees;'

9. *luego de ciega culpa, de irrealidad, de frío, de temor;*
    'then of blind guilt, of unreality, of coldness of fear;'

10.   <u>*luego*</u>, <u>*quiso*</u> *ya estar en el día siguiente.*
      '<u>then</u> <u>she</u> wished that it were already the next day.'
11a. <u>*Acto continuo*</u> <u>*comprendió*</u> *que esa voluntad era inútil*
      '<u>Immediately afterwards</u> <u>she</u> realized that that wish was futile'
11b. *porque la muerte de su padre era lo único que había sucedido en el mundo,*
      y seguiría sucediendo sin fin.
      'because the death of her father was the only thing that had happened
      in the world, and it would go on happening endlessly.'
12.   <u>*Recogió*</u> *el papel*
      '<u>She</u> picked up the paper'
13.   *y <u>se fue</u> a su cuarto.*
      'and <u>went </u>to her room.'
14.   *Furtivamente <u>lo</u> guardó en un cajón, como si de algún modo ya conociera los*
      hechos ulteriores.
      'Furtively, <u>she</u> hid it in a drawer, as if somehow she already knew the
      subsequent facts.'
15.   <u>*Ya*</u> <u>*había*</u> *empezado a vislumbrarlos, tal vez;*
      '<u>She</u> had already begun to suspect them, perhaps;'
16.   <u>*ya era*</u> *la que sería.*
      '<u>she</u> had already become the person she would be.'

Table 5.7 shows the contrastive thematic choices in the original Spanish text and its translation. The divergent choices are highlighted in italics.

The contrastive patterns which emerge from the analysis are the following:

i. When analysing the experiential configuration of the *Pre-Head* in the Spanish original clauses and their English equivalents, one can observe that the Spanish choices include not only Circumstantials as in the English clauses, but also Processes, realized by the non-inflectional part of the verbal forms. The selection of Processes as thematic *Pre-Heads* is a strategy that Spanish shares with other languages. According to Rose (2001: 130) several languages thematize the verb 'in order to present affixed participant identities as "backgrounded" points of departure for the message'.
ii. The preferred and unmarked interpersonal role selected as *Thematic Head* in both languages is the Subject, but while this is the only unmarked choice in English, Spanish also selects Complements (realized by the clitics *la*, and lo) as unmarked *Thematic Heads* in clauses (2) and (3).

Table 5.7 Contrastive thematic choices in text 2

Clause #	Inner Thematic field (Spanish)		Inner Thematic field (English)	
	Pre-Head	**Thematic Head**	**Pre-Head**	**Thematic Head**
1	*El catorce de enero de 1922*	*Emma Zunz*	On the fourteenth of January 1922	Emma Zunz
2		*La*		The stamp and the envelope
3	*luego*	*la*	Then	the unfamiliar handwriting
4		*Nueve o diez líneas*		Nine or ten scribbled words
5		*borroneadas*		
6		*Emma*		Emma
7		*Un compañero de pension de su padre*		A boarding-house friend of her father
8		*Emma*		Emma
9		*Su primera impresión*		Her first impression
10	*luego*		Then	
11	*Luego quiso* ('want')	3s	Then	she
12	*Acto continuo comprendió* ('understand')	3s	Immediately afterwards	she
13	*Recogió* ('pick up')	3s		She
14	*Se fue* ('go')	3s		went
15		lo		she
16	*Ya había* ('have')	3s		She
17	*Ya era* ('be')	3s		She

In general, Spanish is characterized by a greater flexibility in the interpersonal arrangement of elements when compared with the more rigid one which characterizes English where the position of the Subject is grammaticalized due to its lack of inflection. In clauses (2) and (3) the elements functioning as Subject (*el sello y el sobre, la letra desconocida*) are *focal* and *heavy*, so their typical realization is clause final, following the principles of end-focus and end-weight. The movement of the Subject to final position results in a rearrangement of clausal elements, with clitics occurring in clause-initial position as *Thematic Heads* in these clauses. The English translation, by contrast, is influenced by the strong tendency to place the Subject in initial position, independently from its informational status. The contrastive thematic structures of clause (2) are presented below:

(73a) *La engañaron el sobre y el sello*

La	*engañaron*	*el sobre y el sello*
Senser	Process	Phenomenon
Complement	Predicator	Subject

(73b) The stamp and the envelope deceived her

The stamp and the envelope	deceived	her
Phenomenon	Process	Senser
Subject	Predicator	Complement

In the Spanish original example (73a), the element selected as *Thematic Head* – the clitic *la*– conflates the experiential role of Senser and the interpersonal role of Complement, while the element functioning as Phenomenon/Subject is placed in clause-final position. In the English equivalent clause (73b), by contrast, the thematic structure is reversed, and the element selected as *Thematic Head* is the Phenomenon/Subject while the Senser/Complement appears in clause-final position.

It would have been possible for the translator to preserve the thematic structure of the Spanish original clause by selecting as *Thematic Head* the same experiential element (the Senser) and conflating it with the Subject, as exemplified in (74) below:

(74) She was deceived by the stamp and the envelope

She	was deceived	by the stamp and the envelope
Senser	Process	Senser
Subject	Predicator	Complement

This thematic organization would have required a change to passive voice, a rather frequent strategy in English. In this case, however, the translator has preferred to preserve the conflation of Phenomenon/Subject of the Spanish clause, at the expense of the original thematic organization.

The higher frequency of passive constructions in English in comparison with Spanish can be explained by a divergent metafunctional interplay between the textual, the interpersonal and the experiential metafunctions. In English, due to its interpersonal rigidity, the textual waves have to rely on the experiential arrangement of elements, conflating different types of Participants and Circumstances with the Subject in clause-initial position. This requirement is not necessary in Spanish, since the textual waves can rely on the flexible interpersonal order and cause different types of conflations between experiential and interpersonal elements (see Lavid forthcoming).

5.7.2 Informational contrasts

In order to be able to contrast the phenomenon of *information structuring* in English and Spanish, it is necessary to compare their typological features in the first place. English is characterized by a rich prosodic system but a limited syntactic flexibility. This explains the higher tendency in English to use prosodic mechanisms for the expression of information structuring. Spanish is characterized by a less rich prosodic system but a higher degree of syntactic flexibility. This explains the higher tendency in Spanish to use non-prosodic mechanisms for the expression of *information structuring*, as was described in the preceding sections.

The rich prosodic system of English also explains the fundamental role played by intonation in Halliday's original account of information structuring and the conflation of the notions of *New* and *Information Focus* within the information unit. In Spanish intonation does not play the same role as in English, and these notions can be studied as separate, though interrelated, dimensions of information structuring.

In the following section the contrast will concentrate on the notion of *Information Focus* and how it is expressed in both languages, since this is the dimension where English and Spanish diverge in their realizations.

5.7.2.1 *Focus in English and Spanish: Main contrasts*

As explained before, the main difference between English and Spanish in the expression of *Information Focus* lies in the realizational choices selected

by both languages. Thus, while Spanish tends to use non-prosodic mechanisms (e.g. special constituent order, special focus constructions and special focus markers) for *Focus* realization, English typically prefers to use prosody for the expression of *Contrastive Focus* and *Emphatic Focus*, as we will see below.

Table 5.8 shows the main divergences in the realization of the *Focus* types described above. These contrasts are explained in detail in the following subsections.

5.7.2.1.1 *New Focus*

As we saw before, there are several types of realizations of *New Focus* in Spanish, depending on whether the context is a question-answering sequence or running text. In English there are similarities and differences with respect to the Spanish realizations, as follows:

(i) When the context is a question-answering sequence, English and Spanish coincide in their realizations. Thus, in cases of *Questioning New Focus* both English and Spanish select the wh-item or the whole question as focal, depending on the nature of the question. In cases of *Completive New Focus* both languages also coincide in their realizations, as illustrated by the question–answer sequences below (in all the examples below the information Focus is in capital letters).

Example (75) illustrates a sequence consisting of a wh-question followed by its answer. The *Questioning New Focus* is realized by the wh-item in the question ('what') and the *Completive Focus* is realized by that part of the answer which supplies the information requested in the question ('to link it to the festival'):

(75) WHAT did you decide?
Well, I decided really, or we decided I suppose TO LINK IT TO THE FESTIVAL

Example (76) is a polar question and its corresponding answer. The *Questioning New Focus* is realized by the whole question and the *Completive New Focus* by the whole predication in the answer:

(76) S1: IS THIS BOOK IN SPANISH?
S2: YES, IT IS

Table 5.8 Divergent Focus realizations in English and Spanish

Focus types	Spanish realization	Example	English realization	Example
New Focus (Presentative)	Special constituent order: Post-verbal Subject	*Existen indudablemente PARTIDOS ILEGALES*	'There' construction	There are undoubtedly illegal parties
Contrastive Focus (Replacing)	Special constituent order: Post-verbal Subject	*¿Te gusta más BARCELONA?* *No. Me gusta más SEVILLA*	Marked prosodic prominence	I'm NOT THINKING of money. I'm TALKING about giving a home and love to a child
Contrastive Focus (Confirmation)	Special focus markers: *Sí* marker	*Si el arte, hoy día, sigue cumpliendo una función - y en mi opinión, SÍ QUE LA CUMPLE*	Marked prosodic prominence	The man CERTAINLY has some style," said Toby reflectively.
Emphatic Focus	Special focus marker: lexical marker	*HASTA ESO ya me estaba vedado*	Marked prosodic prominence	She's AWFULLY SWEET and natural

(ii) When the context is running text, English differs with Spanish in several respects, depending on the subtype of *New Focus*. In presentative contexts containing Relational Processes and introduced by a Locative element, Spanish typically uses constructions with the Subject in postverbal position as its main realization mechanism. The equivalent version in English varies. For example, if the Process is existential, English typically uses constructions introduced by 'there', as in (77) below:

(77) *Existen   indudablemente PARTIDOS ILEGALES* (CE, Artículos. N.V)
Exist- 3p Pr Indi
undoubtedly   illegal parties
'There are undoubtedly illegal parties'

According to Pinedo (2000: 144), English uses the *Predicated Theme* construction to translate post-verbal focal Subjects when the clause is introduced by a Locative element, as in (78) below:

(78) '*Ahí   empieza   el primer mito.*'
There   starts   the first myth
'And that is where the first myth begins.'

This is also a frequent strategy used by English when the *New Focus* also implies a contrast with some other element (*Contrastive and New Focus*), as in (79) below:

(79) IT IS CONTEXTS that fascinate Morrison: the context that history places around the present, the community around the individual, blackness around whiteness (or vice versa). And IT IS THE LATTER that preoccupies her in Playing in The Dark. (BNC, political)

5.7.2.1.2 *Contrastive Focus*

The realizations of the *Contrastive Focus* also differ in English and Spanish. In cases of *Parallel Focus*, Spanish typically uses the marked Theme construction, as we saw in section 3.3.1.2. English typically uses marked prosodic focus in these contexts, as illustrated in (80) below:

(80) Tina didn't waste any words and NEITHER did her grandfather

In (80) the element 'neither' receives marked prosodic focus since it is not the last accented, non-anaphorical lexical item of the tone group.

When the *Focus* is *Counter-Presuppositional* the most typical realization in English is the use of marked prosodic prominence, both in cases of *Replacing*, *Selective* and *Confirmation Focus*. Example (81) below is a case of *Replacing Focus*:

(81) I'm NOT THINKING of money. I'm TALKING about giving a home and love to a child. (BNC, Conversation)

The use of marked prosodic prominence can occur together with other lexical means, as in example (82), a case of *Confirmation Focus*. The use of intensifiers such as 'definitely', 'really', 'quite' is frequently used in English in these contexts:

(82) 'The man CERTAINLY has some style', said Toby reflectively.

5.7.2.1.3 *Emphatic Focus*

Emphatic Focus is typically realized in English through the use of marked prosodic prominence, usually on intensifying adverbs, thus combining a prosodic with a lexical mechanism. Intensifiers can emphasize the whole predication, but they usually emphasize the adjective they precede, as in (83) below:

(83) She's AWFULLY SWEET and natural, don't you think? (BNC, Fiction)

5.8 Summary

In this chapter we have studied two main mechanisms used by Spanish to create textual meanings: the *thematic organization* of the clause and the phenomenon of *information structuring*.

When studying the *thematic organization* of the Spanish clause we proposed a characterization consisting of two main functionally distinct zones or fields: the *Thematic field* and the *Rhematic field*. Within the *Thematic field* we distinguished between the *Inner Thematic field* and the *Outer Thematic field*, as fulfilling different functional roles. While the *Inner Thematic field* is the

nuclear part, the *Outer Thematic field* is configured by elements which surround and complete the *Inner Thematic field.*

As the analysis of texts 1, 2, 3 and 4 have shown, the selection of certain clausal elements as part of the *Thematic* or the *Rhematic field* is not a random choice on the part of the writer, but is the result of the different functions performed by the *Thematic* and the *Rhematic* segments within the discourse. Thus, while elements within the *Rhematic field* elaborate the field/subject matter of the text, those elements within the *Thematic field* typically have a guiding or orienting function, signalling different possible points or angles of expansion of the text. Thus, for example, elements selected for *Thematic Heads* typically signal participants in discourse; elements expressing time within the *Pre-Head* can signal a new setting in time or a temporal scope along a temporal line of development; linkers, binders and other textual markers in the *Outer Thematic field* usually signal rhetorical transitions in the text. The analysis of the selected textual passages mentioned before has illustrated that texts are not just a random collection of sentences, but are textually organized following certain lines of development which correlate with specific thematic selection patterns. Depending on the text, thematic selection will be exploited to signal the characteristic chaining strategies which organize the text.

Thematic and *information structuring* are closely interrelated and complementary textual mechanisms: the informational status of constituents usually determines the thematic structuring of the clause – *Retrievable* material is usually selected as thematic while *Non-retrievable* material tends to be selected as rhematic. This seems to be an effective communicative strategy for the construction of coherent texts: using as a point of departure material which looks back and lays the foundation for what is to come.

When studying information structuring in Spanish we distinguished two main dimensions of analysis: the *information status* of the message elements, on the one hand, and the *informational relevance* as *Focus* of certain parts of the message, on the other hand. The former is concerned with the *retrievability* or *recoverability* of the message elements within their discourse and situational context. Thus, it is possible to assign different informational statuses along a scale of *retrievability*, such as *Given, Accessible,* or *New.*

Our account of information *Focus* in Spanish is based on a discourse processing perspective: when producing his/her message, the producer has the option to focalize on certain parts of the message and leaving others in the background. Those parts which he/she considers to be most relevant for processing and on which he/she wants his/her interlocutor to spend

the most thought are *focal*, while the rest are *non-focal*. On the basis of a number of factors and intended communicative effects we established a taxonomy of *Focus types*, consisting of three general types (i.e. *New Focus*, *Contrastive Focus* and *Emphatic Focus*) and studied their subtypes and most typical realizations.

When establishing a contrast between the Spanish and the English thematic and information structures we have focused mainly on those aspects where both languages diverge.

With respect to the *thematic organization*, it can be observed that the main differences between both languages lie in the selection of interpersonal and experiential roles as *Thematic Head* and *Pre-Head* within the *Inner Thematic field*, and in the mapping between these roles.

Spanish, like other languages around the Mediterranean area, frequently selects the Process as the thematic *Pre-Head*, realized by the non-inflectional form of the Verb. Also, it often selects the Subject as unmarked *Thematic Head*, but this is not the only unmarked choice, as it is in English, but simply one of the possible candidates. This is probably due to the greater flexibility in the interpersonal arrangement of elements when compared with the more rigid one which characterizes English.

Informationally speaking, English and Spanish basically differ in the realization mechanisms for the expression of *information Focus*. While Spanish tends to use non-prosodic mechanisms (e.g. special constituent order, special focus constructions and special focus markers) for *Focus* realization, English typically prefers to use prosody for the expression of *Contrastive Focus* and *Emphatic Focus*. For the expression of *New Focus*, however, English frequently resorts to 'there-constructions' or to special focus constructions (e.g. Predicated Themes) in those cases where Spanish uses special constituent order (e.g. Post-verbal Subject).

Throughout the chapter we presented textual analyses illustrating the behaviour of the categories proposed in authentic texts belonging to different modes (dialogue vs monologue), dealing with different subject matter, and instantiating different discourse purposes (e.g. narrative, descriptive). The analysis of *Theme* and *Focus* in different text types illustrated how both categories function together, creating different types of progression patterns and achieving characteristic textual effects.

Notes

[1] See Hovy and Lavid (2007) for a preliminary attempt to integrate the discourse function and the local function of clause-initial elements within the computational context of Natural Language Generation.

[2] Empirical corpus-based studies such as Gómez-González (2001) on English, and Hidalgo Downing (2003) on spoken Spanish are fruitful steps in this direction.

[3] For a more detailed account of the notion of 'conceptual distance' in the context of Natural Language Generation, see Hovy and Lavid (2007).

[4] Alarcos Llorach (1994: 199) uses the term *incrementos personales del verbo* (personal increments of the verb) to refer to those pronominal forms used in Spanish for expressing Direct and Indirect Object functions. These forms are not independent words and are evolving into verb prefixes, just as the verb suffixes indicating person and number express the Subject. Following prevailing usage, we will call them *clitics*, though they can be further specified as *proclitics* when occurring before the verb, or as *enclitics* when following it, as in the case of infinitives, gerunds and affirmative commands. They include the forms: *me, te, le, lo, la, nos, os, les, los, las* and *se*.

[5] This type of constructions is also known as left-dislocation in FG. See Downing (1997) for a detailed account of the discourse pragmatic functions of the left-dislocated constituent in spoken European Spanish. Hidalgo Downing (2003) provides a thorough account of the formal and functional features of this type of construction in spoken Spanish.

[6] Our position here differs from Fawcett's account of the equivalent construction in English introduced by 'as for', 'with regards/respect to' (2003). In his account, constructions introduced by these elements are either *Respect* or *Topic Marking Adjuncts*, and are functionally equivalent to *Absolute Theme* constructions. In our account a distinction is made between *Absolute Themes*, as in (12) and (13), and *Matter Adjuncts*, as in (14), on the basis of the different functions fulfilled by these formally similar constructions in the semantics of the Spanish clause.

[7] It should be borne in mind that this type of construction is highly frequent in spoken Spanish (see Hidalgo Downing 2003), which could be a criterion to consider them as 'unmarked' in the spoken mode.

[8] The consideration of Focus as locus of the new information that a sentence conveys was validated not only by Halliday but also by Quirk, who accorded a central role to intonation in the structuring of information. According to Quirk et al. (1972: 94): 'The focus, signalled by the intonation nucleus, indicates where the new information lies.'

[9] This model has been successfully applied for the analysis and generation of task-scheduling dialogues in English and Spanish (Lavid 2007).

[10] The empirical basis for this statement is Elena Martinez Caro's contrastive corpus study of *Focus* in English and Spanish (see Martinez Caro 1999). To our knowledge, this is the most extensive and thorough treatment of the *Focus* phenomenon in both languages which exists in the functional linguistic literature. For a SF analysis of focality and thematicity in the computational context of text generation see Lavid (2004).

[11] These constructions are also known as 'pseudo-clefts' and 'it-clefts', respectively. In Spanish, however, the distinction between these two types has been questioned by several scholars for whom there is only one kind of construction, the 'pseudo-cleft' (see Moreno Cabrera 1987; Barcelona Sánchez 1983; Martinez Caro 1999). Other scholars, however, defend the existence of both types of clefts (see Gómez-González and Gonzálvez-García 2005). For reasons of space, it is not possible to provide a thorough discussion of these discrepancies here. Our account will only

provide a very general characterization of these constructions, focusing on their main thematic and informational features.

[12] See Hidalgo Downing and Martinez Caro (2008) for a detailed study of the functions of the '*lo que*' construction in Spanish and its functional equivalents in English.

Chapter 6

The grammar of groups and phrases

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters we have studied how each metafunctional compo-
nent (ideational, interpersonal, textual) contributes to the grammar of the
clause creating three simultaneous structures that express three types of
meanings. Transitivity structures express representational meaning; logical
structures express logico-semantic relationships between processes; mood
structures express interactional meaning; thematic structures express the
organization of the message in relation to the textual and contextual envi-
ronment; information structure expresses both the information status of
message elements as well as the informational relevance of certain parts of
the message. In the grammar of the Spanish clause each of these meanings
contributes to a more or less complete structure, but when we turn our
attention to the grammar of the units immediately below the clause (i.e.
groups and phrases), the picture is different. Although it is possible to dis-
tinguish different functional components, they are not represented in the
form of separate structures, they do not manifest themselves as separate
structures (Halliday 1985: 158). Rather, the ideational component seems to
be dominant at this linguistic level, and the other two meanings are only
occasionally present. This is the case, for instance, of the textual function of
some Deictics – such as the Spanish equivalent of *the* and *a* – when used to
mark if a participant has been mentioned in the discourse before, or the
interpersonal value of certain types of qualification provided by adjectives
like *maravilloso* ('wonderful'), *excelente* ('excellent'), etc. as we will see below.
Furthermore, many of the textual or interpersonal meanings at group level
are realized through phonological rather than lexicogrammatical resources,
such as special stress and intonation patterns that cannot be discussed here.
For this reason, groups and phrases are dealt with focusing on the idea-
tional perspective. In addition, we will deal with the experiential and logical
structure separately when discussing the nominal and verbal groups. This is

because these two groups present a higher degree of complexity than the rest and consequently there is a clear distinct contribution made by each type of ideational structure. As we will see below, the experiential structure covers the elements that can be present in a group or phrase, their function and realization, whereas the logical structure determines how these elements are organized in a hierarchical way to produce the final meaning of the group or phrase.

Thus, while it is possible to find clausal constituents directly realized by words, as in (1) below, it is often the case that words tend to form more complex units (i.e. groups), which are the intermediary building blocks of clauses, as illustrated in (2).

(1)	*John*	*is*	*sad*	*today.*
	Carrier	Process	Attribute	Location: temporal

(2)	*John's son*	*has been feeling*	*a bit sad*	*over the last weeks.*
	Carrier	Process	Attribute	Extent: temporal

Groups are classified depending on the class word of what is identified as the central component, which is the element that must be necessarily present to form the group. Following this criterion we classify the strings *John* and *John's son* as nominal groups, since the indispensable elements (*John* and *son*) are nouns. The groups *is* and *has been feeling* are classified as verbal groups, as they only consist of verbs. Likewise, *sad* and *a bit sad* are classified as adjectival groups, whereas *today* is an example of an adverbial group.

As for the string *over the last weeks*, this is better categorized as a phrase rather than a group. The reason for this distinction is that, unlike groups, phrases lack something we could define as a central element that must be necessarily present. In fact, all phrases consist of a preposition and a group, and both elements are essential to build the phrase. The function of the group is to denote a Participant or Circumstantial in the experiential structure of the clause, while the preposition adds more precise information about the role played by that Participant or Circumstantial in the clause. In the phrase *over the last weeks*, for instance, the nominal group *the last weeks* signals a time stretch, while the preposition *over* explicitly marks that the time stretch is acting as a Temporal Extent in the ideational structure of the clause.

There is a tendency in most languages to associate certain groups with specific elements from the clause. Participants – such as Actor, Phenomenon or Carrier – are often realized by nominal groups, Attributes are normally realized by adjectival groups, Processes are realized by verbal groups, and Circumstantials are typically realized by adverbial groups and prepositional phrases. Nevertheless, this should be seen as a loose tendency rather than a rule, and as we will see below, languages are rather flexible in the realization of participants and circumstances.

In this section we have introduced the notion of groups and phrase as the intermediary unit between the clause and the word. However, it should be pointed out that groups and phrases are also commonly found within other groups and phrases. In the sequence *a rather interesting book*, for instance, we find an adjectival group (*rather interesting*) within the structure of a nominal group. Obviously, the purpose of this is not to realize a clausal element, but some element of the structure of the nominal group. This phenomenon, known as rankshift, is probably even more common with nouns and phrases than with clauses.

In the following sections we will discuss the properties of four main classes of group in Spanish: nominal group, verbal group, adjectival group and adverbial group, as well as those of prepositional phrases.

6.2 The nominal group

6.2.1 Experiential structure of the nominal group

6.2.1.1 The Thing

The central element in the nominal group is the Thing, realized in Spanish by nouns or pronouns. Its central role derives from two main characteristics:

(i) it is the minimal component required to build a nominal group;
(ii) it constitutes the semantic core of the nominal group. All the other components only refine the meaning contributed by the Thing in ways that will be discussed in the next sections.

Typically, the Thing denotes a wide range of entities, such as objects (*libro* 'book', *casa* 'house'), beings (*niño* 'kid', *perro* 'dog'), places (*ciudad* 'city', *país* 'country'), relations (*causa* 'cause', *consecuencia* 'consequence'). In addition, it can also refer to concepts that are typically denoted by other

word classes, such as qualities (*inteligencia* 'intelligence') or processes (*llegada* 'arrival', see Chapter 2).

Any concept denoted by the Thing can be construed in two different ways in Spanish: either as a class or as an individual (Lamíquiz 1991). Classes are generic references to the concept signalled by the Thing, as example (3) illustrates.

(3) *Jamás*   *bebe*   **vino**
     never   drink-Pr-3s   wine
     'She never drinks wine.'

When talking about a class, the speaker does not have any particular individual in mind. Rather, s/he is simply referring to the set of typical characteristics normally associated with the instances that make up the class. An alternative to direct class reference when making generic statements is to employ a prototypical instance rather than the class itself, as in example (4).

(4) **Un poema**   *es*   **un animal**,   *dijo*   *Aristóteles* (CREA)
     a   poem   be-Pr-3s   a   animal   say-P-pfv-3s   Aristotle
     'A poem is an animal, said Aristotle.'

An instance is similar to an individual in that it is viewed as a differentiated entity. However, it is still generic because it does not actually signal a specific individual with real existence in the world, but a prototypical instance of the class.

Alternatively, when a Thing is construed as an individual, it is seen as a concrete entity differentiated from other entities in the world. There are different ways to refer to individuals through the language. Perhaps the most basic one consists in using some expression that draws the addressee's attention to the intended individual when this is recoverable from the context, as in *ese* ('that [one]'), *él* ('he') or *tú* ('you'). Pronouns are the common realization of the Thing with this kind of individual reference. As in most languages, Spanish pronouns can be divided into two main groups, depending on the general principle on which they are organized. The first group includes pronouns organized according to the distance from speaker and/or addressee, also known as demonstrative pronouns. Spanish has three series of demonstrative pronouns:

  (i)   near the speaker (*este, esta, esto*)
 (ii)   near the addressee (*ese, esa, eso*)
(iii)   far from speaker and addressee (*aquel, aquella, aquello*)

However, the pronouns of group (ii) often replace those of group (iii) in modern Spanish unless it is really necessary to contrast an entity that is near the addressee with one that is far from the speaker and the addressee. In fact, the pronouns of group (iii) are frequently used to indicate a sense of remoteness which is not strictly connected with space, as we will see below when discussing demonstrative Deictics.

Notice that demonstrative pronouns present three forms (masculine, feminine, neuter), in spite of the fact that Spanish only has two grammatical genders. This is because these pronouns refer directly to individuals from the environment, and consequently do not need to take into consideration the grammatical properties of words. As a matter of fact, Spanish demonstrative pronouns distinguish between feminine or masculine nouns only when they signal an individual previously introduced in the discourse. When they directly point to an entity from the physical environment, they distinguish between beings and inanimate entities (*esto, eso, aquello*), and between male (*este, ese, aquel*) and female beings (*esta, esa, aquella*).

The second group of pronouns found in Spanish is organized taking into consideration the participants involved in an exchange. Spanish has pronouns for three possible roles:

  (i) first-person pronouns, associated with the speaker;
 (ii) second-person pronouns, associated with the addressee;
(iii) third-person pronouns, associated with a non-interactant participant, who is neither the speaker nor the addressee.

These can appear under a singular or plural form, which has the purpose of referring to a plural number of the participants mentioned above. Table 6.1 gives the nominative form of the personal pronouns available in Spanish.

Whether the notion of first-person plural includes the addressee (or addressees) or not is unresolved in Spanish. Thus, *nosotros* may refer to both the speaker and the addressee or to a group of individuals including the speaker but not the addressee.

Table 6.1 Personal pronouns in Spanish

	Singular	**Plural**
First person	*yo*	*nosotros, nosotras*
Second person	*tú*	*vosotros, vosotras*
Second person of politeness	*usted*	*ustedes*
Third person	*él, ella, ello*	*ellas, ellos*

Only some Spanish pronouns indicate the sex of the individual being signalled, as can be seen in Table 6.1, and only third-person pronouns present three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter). This is a consequence of the fact that the third person is the only one that refers to an entity that is not involved in the exchange. Since only humans can take part in a communicative act, it is only the third person that may refer to an inanimate thing.

The choice between *tú* and *usted* is determined by the relationship holding between the speaker and the addressee and the communicative setting. *Usted* carries some positive attitudes, such as respect and politeness, but it also embodies social distance and inequality. Likewise, *tú* emphasizes solidarity and intimacy, but it can give offence in the wrong context. It is, however, difficult even for native speakers to decide which pronoun is appropriate for a given situation, and addressees sometimes give hints as to the type of treatment they prefer. This is particularly common when the addressee rejects the most polite, distant treatment conveyed by *usted* in favour of the more equal *tú*.

So far we have dealt with what we could call 'context-dependent' forms of signalling individuals in Spanish, since the linguistic forms employed rely on the extra-linguistic environment to be correctly understood. However, there are also context-independent mechanisms for the same purpose, as examples (5–6) illustrate.

(5) **Juan**   *no*   *sabe*   *nada.*
     Juan   NEG   know-Pr-3s   anything
     'Juan doesn't know anything.'

(6) *Déjame*   **el**   **libro.**
     lend-me-IMP-sg   the   book
     'Let me see the book.'

In example (5) we find a reference to an individual by his name. A name can be defined as a 'label' attached to an entity with the sole function of signalling that precise entity, without adding any description or membership. Names play a crucial role in human societies. They are regarded as a fundamental property of a person and they are inherited within the family. Nevertheless, being in possession of a name is for the most part a characteristic restricted to humans and some relevant entities of their environment, and the vast majority of entities in the world simply lack a name given by humans.

For these, the normal strategy is to refer to the individual by identifying one of the classes it belongs to, as in example (6). Unlike names, classifications are descriptive: they endow the individual with the set of typical properties attached to the class. In addition, classifications are not stable and permanent like names. Any entity belongs to a potentially infinite number of classes, and the selection we make depends on the perspective adopted. Thus, the same object can be referred to by interlocutors as a 'chair', a 'possession', a 'piece of furniture' or a 'barrier', depending on the communicative setting and the purpose of the exchange.

Besides this fundamental distinction between classes and individuals, all concepts must be construed in Spanish as either continuous or discontinuous entities. The former are presented as recognizable units that can be numerated (*dos manzanas* 'two apples'), whereas the latter are presented as substances not divisible into units (*leche* 'milk'). Physical objects lend themselves more easily to such categorization, and consequently one finds greater agreement between Spanish and other languages in this respect. But less tangible entities present an important degree of arbitrariness across languages. For instance, *tiempo* as the equivalent of English *weather* is construed as a discontinuous entity in Spanish (*un tiempo muy frío*, lit. 'a very cold weather'), whereas it is a continuous entity in English that requires a measure expression (*a spell of cold weather*). Differences like this are arbitrary and consequently unpredictable.

An interesting characteristic of Spanish is that this language is rather flexible in the construal of entities as continuous or discontinuous. In particular, treating continuous materials as discrete objects is such a common phenomenon that it can be regarded as a regular mechanism to produce the meaning of 'a piece of'. Thus, *una madera* (lit. 'a wood') is 'a piece of wood', *un algodón* (lit. 'a cotton') is 'a piece of cotton', *un consejo* (lit. 'an advice') is 'a piece of advice', *una noticia* (lit. 'a news') is 'a piece of news', etc.

The construal of discontinuous entities as continuous is less common in Spanish, and it normally conveys the meaning of 'is made of'. Most of the words employed for meals and dishes, for instance, are continuous nouns derived from a discontinuous noun. One says *Esto es manzana/cerdo/ballena/pulpo* ('this is apple/pig/whale/octopus'), and so on, when talking about food in Spanish. Also remarkable is the use of expressions such as *Aquí hay mucho coche/niño* (lit. 'here there is much car/child', 'there are a lot of cars/children here'), in which concrete entities are presented as substances. This usage is typical of the oral language, and it seems to have the purpose of emphasizing the quantifying element in the nominal group.

Table 6.2 Construals of the Thing in Spanish

Classes	Direct reference to the class			*vino* ('wine') *el hombre* ('man')
	Prototypical individual			*un poema* ('a poem') *aves* ('birds')
Individuals	Signalling	Based on distance	Near speaker	*este* ('this')
			Near addressee	*ese* ('that')
			Far from speaker and addressee	*aquel* ('that')
		Based on the role in the exchange	Interactant Addressee	*tú, vosotros* ('you')
			Speaker	*yo, nosotros* ('I, we')
			Non-interactant	*él, ella* ('he, she')
	Names			*Juan*
	Classifications			*el libro* ('the book')
Continuous				*agua* ('water')
Discontinuous				*un árbol* ('a tree)

Table 6.2 summarizes the two obligatory construals of Thing in Spanish and the possible realizations it presents. The information provided here concerning the realization of the Thing is complemented in the section devoted to the Deictic element.

6.2.1.2 The Deictic

The general purpose of the Deictic element in the nominal group is to help identify the precise entity that is signalled by the Thing. We can distinguish three different types of Deictics in Spanish:

- *Specificity Deictics.* These are the forms *un* ('a') and *el* ('the'), which are inflected to indicate grammatical gender (masculine or feminine) and number (singular or plural). However, only the masculine singular form will be employed when talking about these Deictics for the sake of simplicity. In addition, we will see that the absence of a Deictic is also a significant component to create a three-term opposition.
- *Demonstrative Deictics.* Like demonstrative pronouns, these are organized in three series depending on the distance of the Thing from the speaker and addressee: *este* (near the speaker), *ese* (near the addressee) and *aquel* (far from speaker and addressee). Demonstrative pronouns are also inflected to indicate gender and number, but unlike demonstrative pronouns they only have two genders: masculine and feminine.

- *Possessive Deictics.* These help identify the entity signalled by the Thing by specifying the possessor. As we will see below, possessive Deictics refer to various possible possessors by pointing at different participants in a communicative exchange.

In order to analyse the multiple functions of the Deictics *un* and *el* in Spanish it is more convenient to look at the meanings they contribute in combination with the possible construals of the Thing (classes and individuals) and their subtypes.

Individuals identified through a classification can be specific or non-specific. This represents a textual property, as example (7) shows. Here, the participants classified as *mujer* ('woman') and *niño* ('child') are non-specific the first time they appear in the text, but they become specific afterwards. Such textual status is marked in Spanish through the Deictic element: non-specific participants are accompanied by the Deictic *un* in the nominal group (*una mujer* 'a woman', *un niño* 'a child'), whereas specific participants require the Deictic *el* (*la mujer* 'the woman', *el niño* 'the child').

(7) **Un niño** *de 12 años   y*   **una mujer** *de 24   murieron   en el curso*
a child of 12 years   and a woman of 24   die-P-pfv-3p in the course
de una reyerta familiar.   **La mujer**   *disparó*   *contra* **el niño**, . . .
(CREA)
of a row family   the woman   shoot-P-pfv-3s against the child
'A 12-year-old child and a 24-year-old woman were killed during a
  family dispute. The woman shot at the child, . . .'

As regards the use of the Deictic *el* with individuals designated through a name, this depends largely on convention. In Spanish, for instance, all the planets of the Solar System have a name which cannot be accompanied by a Deictic (*Marte, Venus, Júpiter*, etc.), but the sun (*el Sol, el sol*), the moon (*la Luna, la luna*) and the earth (*la Tierra, la tierra*) must be preceded by it. People's first names are also often heard with the Deictic *el* (*el Óscar, la Sandra*), but this is regarded as highly colloquial and is stigmatized and avoided in the formal language.

Plural non-specific individuals are also marked through the insertion of the Deictic *un*, as it possesses plural forms for this purpose (8).

(8) **Unos   científicos estadonunidenses** *han descubierto   que* . . . (CREA)
a   scientists America   discover-Pr-pf-3p that . . .
'American scientists have discovered that . . .'

Nevertheless, the Deictic is sometimes omitted when talking about non-specific individuals in the journalistic style of newspapers and television news reports, as well as the language of academic writing (9).

(9) **Científicos canadienses** *han hallado   una   sustancia* . . . (CREA)
    scientists   Canadian   find-Pr-pf-3p a   substance . . .
    'Canadian scientists have found a substance . . .'

Singular prototypical instances in Spanish are accompanied by the Deictic *un* (10), as these are by definition non-specific.

(10) *Tener   **un   perro   es   una   responsabilidad.* (CREA)
     have-Inf   a   dog   be-Pr-3s a   responsibility
     'Having a dog entails some responsibility.'

However, classes and plural prototypical instances are marked rather differently in Spanish: they appear with the Deictic *el* or they can lack a Deictic element, as example (11) shows. Here we find two nominal groups designating a group of prototypical instances (*tiburones* and *peces*), but they receive different treatment as far as the Deictic element is concerned.

(11) **Los   tiburones** *son   **peces** *altamente   especializados* (CREA)
     the   sharks   be-Pr-3p fish-pl   highly   specialized
     'Sharks are highly specialized fish.'

The reason for this is that Spanish, like other Romance languages, explicitly makes a distinction between exhaustive reference to the instances or the class in question and non-exhaustive reference. By exhaustive reference to a class or a group of instances we mean that the Thing refers to all the prototypes that make up a class or to the whole class respectively. This is in opposition to non-exhaustive reference, which implies that the Thing only focuses on a fragment of the instances or the class. Let us illustrate this distinction through some examples.

   In Spanish one must say *Odio **las** mariposas/**el** vino* ('I hate butterflies/wine') or *Me gustan **las** mariposas/**el** vino* ('I like butterflies/wine'), where the Deictic *el* is employed with plural prototypical instances and classes. The use of nominal groups without the Deictic element with these processes (*Odio mariposas/vino* or *Me gustan mariposas/vino*) is completely un-Spanish. This is because affection processes are perceived by Spanish speakers as

implying exhaustive reference of the Thing that appears in the Phenomenon: hating butterflies implies hating *all* butterflies, just like hating wine implies hating *all* instances of it. In contrast, most other processes are viewed in Spanish as implying a non-exhaustive reference to the relevant participant. This is the case, for instance, of processes like *coleccionar* ('collect') or *beber* ('drink'). For this reason, one says *coleccionar mariposas* ('collect butterflies') or *beber vino* ('drink wine'), where no Deictic is present. In fact, the insertion of the Deictic *el* in these examples would change the reference of the nominal group completely, as it would mark the Thing as an individual rather than a group of prototypical instances or as a class: *coleccionar las mariposas* ('collect the butterflies'), *beber el vino* ('drink the wine').

It is difficult to explain why certain transitivity structures of the clause demand exhaustive reference of the Thing for some participants, and very probably this depends on how the process and the relevant participant are viewed. Thus, in Spanish we say *conseguir/obtener **la** victoria/**la** libertad* ('gain/obtain victory/liberty'), whereas we say *necesitar libertad* ('need liberty') but *necesitar **la** victoria* ('need the victory'). This is probably because *libertad* is treated like other substances in Spanish (*vino* 'wine', *arroz* 'rice') that can be taken in portions, whereas *victoria* is seen as an event and can be easily construed as an individual. That explains why *necesitar victoria* sounds incorrect, and also the subtle difference between *obtener libertad* and *obtener la libertad*: the second seems to evoke a specific event, something like gaining liberty after some struggle, and this is absent in the first example.

In spite of this, there are two cases in which it is possible to state that exhaustive reference is regularly required within the nominal group in Spanish. The first is with participants that show agreement with the Predicator. This means that these participants must take the article *el* and so the distinction between specific individuals and prototypical instances or classes is neutralized, as we can see in the Carrier in (11). From this follows that non-exhaustive reference tends to be found with participants that do not show agreement with the Predicator. The nominal group realizing these participants distinguishes prototypical instances or classes from individuals by omitting the Deictic, as one can observe in the Attribute in (11).

The second case in which exhaustive reference is required in the nominal group in Spanish is when this is realizing the Phenomenon in affection processes (such as *amar* 'love', *gustar* 'like', *odiar* 'hate'), as we could see above illustrated by *odiar las mariposas* ('hate butterflies').

So far we have been discussing the problems posed by the reference to classes or prototypical instances. However, it should be pointed out that

direct reference to a class is more often found in Spanish with continuous Things (12). With discontinuous Things it is more common to use plural prototypical instances (13). Of course a direct reference to the class with discontinuous entities is also possible in Spanish, although this is more typical of a formal and academic style (14).

(12) **El   vino   hace   milagros.** (CREA)
     the   wine   make-Pr-3s   miracles
     'Wine can work miracles'

(13) *¿Por qué sois   **las mujeres**   tan aficionadas a los chismes?* (CREA)
     why   be-Pr-2p   the women   so fond   of the gossip
     'Why are you women so fond of gossip?'

(14) **La   mujer   en   el   siglo   XVII** (CREA)
     the   woman   in   the   century   XVII
     'The woman in the XVII century.'

Demonstrative deictics also help identify the entity referred to by the Thing, but they do it by signalling one from the environment. As a result, demonstrative Deictics are only found accompanying specific individuals or classes, which are treated as specific in the language.

   Demonstratives are organized into three series depending on the distance they indicate with respect to the speaker and/or the addressee, as we saw in connection with demonstrative pronouns:

  (i)   near the speaker (*este libro* 'this book', *esta mesa* 'this table')
 (ii)   near the addressee (*ese plato* 'that plate', *esa gorra* 'that cap')
(iii)   far from speaker and addressee (*aquel edificio* 'that building', *aquella casa* 'that house')

It is also true of demonstrative Deictics that the forms of remote distance are often replaced by those that indicate proximity to the addressee. In modern Spanish, speakers are more likely to say *esa casa* ('that house') than *aquella casa* ('that house') when pointing to a building that is far from both the speaker and the addressee. In fact, the Deictics of remote distance are more often used today to indicate a sense of remoteness pertaining to time or discourse, as examples (15–16) show.

(15) ***Aquella***	***tarde***	*resultó*	*en*	*tragedia.* (CREA)
     that   afternoon result-P-pfv-3s in   tragedy
     'That afternoon ended up in tragedy.'

(16) ***Aquel***	***hombre***	*parecía*	*sincero*	(CREA)
     that   man   look-P-ipfv-3s honest
     'That man looked like an honest person.'

Possessive Deictics also accompany specific individuals or classes. It is true that the notion of possession can be applied to non-specific individuals and prototypical instances as well. However, this is marked through adjectives instead of Deictics in such cases: *un amigo mío* (lit. 'a fried mine, a friend of mine'). Spanish demonstrative Deictics are organized according to the same principles as personal pronouns, as shown in Table 6.3.

It will be noticed that these forms are less distinctive than the corresponding pronouns, and so often lead to confusion due to the multiple meanings of the form *su*. This can indicate possession associated to a female non-interactant participant, a male non-interactant participant, a group of non-interactant participants and even the addressee or a group of addressees if they receive a respectful treatment. Such ambiguity explains why some speakers make use of double possession-marking in the colloquial language (17).

(17) *¿Cómo*	*está*	***su***	***madre***	*de*	*usted?*
     how   be-Pr-3s   your   mother of   you-polite
     'How is your mother?'

An interesting phenomenon in Spanish is the existence of an alternative construction to add the meanings of demonstration and possession to the nominal group. Even when the Thing represents a specific individual, it is

Table 6.3 Possessive Deictics in Spanish

	Singular	Plural
First person	*mi*	*nuestro*
Second person	*tu*	*vuestro*
Second person of politeness	*su*	*su*
Third person	*su*	*su*

possible to express demonstration and possession through adjectives in combination with the Deictic *el*, as the following examples illustrate:

- *la chica esta* (lit. 'the girl this', 'this girl')
- *la tarde aquella* (lit. 'the afternoon that', 'that afternoon')
- *la idea nuestra* (lit. 'the idea ours', 'our idea')
- *el estilo mío* (lit. 'the style mine', 'my style')

From a semantic point of view, there is no difference between these constructions and the equivalent without the Deictic *el*, although they are more commonly heard in the oral language.

6.2.1.3　The Numerative

The Numerative is the element in the nominal group that contributes those meanings related to the general concept of quantification. Numeratives can be classified into four broad categories, resulting from the combination of two parameters.

The first parameter distinguishes between quantifying expressions that denote a precise number (such as 'two' or 'dozen') and those that refer to a fuzzy, subjective quantity ('many', 'some', etc.). Obviously, the latter constitutes an interpersonal type of quantification. Following this parameter we will distinguish between numeral and indefinite quantities.

The second parameter is necessary to account for the difference between numeratives such as 'both' and 'two'. Both expressions are associated to the precise quantity '2', but 'both' carries an implication of exhaustive reference that is missing in 'two'. In other words, 'both' implies that the two entities it signals are part of some type of group or set, and so by referring to the two entities we are referring to the whole of the set. In contrast, the numerative 'two' carries no such implication, and so there is no sense that the two entities it signals belong to any particular group or set. This parameter permits us to distinguish between independent quantification and quantification within the frame of a set. We will refer to these as 'external quantification' and 'internal quantification' respectively. Notice that internal quantification measures the proportion of individuals belonging to a set that are signalled by the nominal group when the Thing refers to multiple discontinuous entities. It is the case of examples such as *all my friends, some of the students.* When the Thing denotes a singular entity (either continuous or discontinuous), internal quantification indicates how much of the entity is signalled, as in *the whole building, half the population,* and the like.

Table 6.4   Types of quantification

	Numeral	**Indefinite**
Internal	*half, both*	*most of, some of*
External	*two, three*	*many, few*

Table 6.4 summarizes and illustrates with examples from English the four types of quantification.

Numerals of external quantification in Spanish are not very different from those found in other European languages. The only peculiarities worth mentioning here are as follows:

- A few numerals are sensitive to grammatical gender. These are: *uno, una* ('one') and all the hundreds except 100 (*doscientos, doscientas* '200', *quinientos, quinientas* '500', but *cien* '100'). The rest of numerals are invariable in Spanish.
- The numbers from 1 to 15 are expressed by a special word. Higher figures are obtained using the formula 'tens and units' (*treinta y dos* '30 and 2'). However, the numbers 16 through 29 are written as a single word (*veinticinco* '25'), while the rest are written as independent words (*treinta y cinco* '35').
- Spanish does not possess a proper numeral for the figure 'million' when acting as the Numerative in the nominal group, although there are numerals available for any other quantity. Thus, we say *novencientos noventa y nueve mil noveceintos noventa y nueve euros* ('999,999 euros') in Spanish, and *un millón un euros* ('1,000,001 euros'). However, the number 1,000,000 is realized by a collective noun instead of a numeral, and so we say *un millón de euros* (lit. '1,000,000 of euros').

Numerals of internal quantification refer to fractions and proportions, such as *la mitad* ('half'), *tres cuartas partes* ('three quarters'), *veinte por ciento* ('twenty per cent'). It should be pointed out that a great part of the numerals of internal quantification available in Spanish are nouns that seem to act as the Thing in the nominal group if we focus on the superficial structure of the group. Consider example (18).

(18) *la   mitad   de   los   visitantes   son   catalanes* (CREA)
     the   half   of   the   visitors   be-Pr-3p   Catalans
     'Half the visitors are Catalans.'

Formally speaking, the nominal group *la mitad de los visitantes* could be analysed as:

[la]~Deictic~ [mitad]~Thing~ [de los asistentes]~Modifier~.

Alternatively, *la mitad de* can be analysed as a complex Numerative. This view is supported by the fact that in modern Spanish the verb normally agrees with the quantified element, even if this seems to be formally acting as a Modifier. For this reason, an analysis such as:

[la mitad de]~Numerative~ [los]~Deictic~ [asistentes]~Thing~

is perhaps more in keeping with the reality of the language.

The basic Numeratives of indefinite quantification in Spanish are *mucho* ('much, many, a lot') and *poco* ('little, few'). These are suitable for any register, but they have substitutes for both formal and informal registers (*bastante* 'numerous', *escaso* 'scarce', *mogollón* 'loads of', etc.). These can be used to express both external and internal quantification, although the latter tends to be differentiated from the former through the insertion of the preposition *de*. That is why *muchos estudiantes* ('many students') tends to refer to external quantification, while *muchos de los estudiantes* ('many of the students') can only express internal quantification.

The interpersonal character of indefinite quantification is clearly visible in the opposition *poco dinero* ('little money')/*un poco de dinero* ('a little money'), *pocos amigos* ('few friends')/*unos pocos amigos* ('a few friends'). The difference between these pairs does not lie in the amount denoted by the Numerative, but the speaker's attitude towards that amount. *Poco dinero* suggests that the low quantity of money is insufficient for some purpose or according to some standard, whereas *un poco de dinero* represents an equally small amount of money, but without the meaning of insufficiency present in the other construction. The contrast can be appreciated in examples (19–20).

(19) *el   Gobierno   gasta   poco   dinero   en   educación* (CREA)
      the   Government spend-Pr-3s little   money on   education
      'The Government spends little money on education.'

(20) *He conseguido   un   poco   de   dinero   negro* (CREA)
      obtain-Pr-pf-3s a   little   of   money   black
      'I've earned a bit of black money.'

An indefinite quantity that is evaluated in relation to some implicit standard is also expressed by the forms *demasiado* ('too much, too many') and *suficiente* or *bastante* (both translated as 'enough', although *bastante* only adopts this meaning in negative clauses; in positive clauses it means 'many, much'). The former indicates an excess of quantity (*demasiado trabajo* 'too much work', *demasiadas preocupaciones* 'too many worries'), while the other two convey the idea of just reaching a minimum requirement (*suficiente comida* 'enough food', *no tener bastantes alumnos* 'not having enough students').

An intermediate quantity between *mucho* and *poco* is expressed in Spanish with the quantifier *algunos* ('some'), with discontinuous entities, and *algo de* ('something of') with continuous entities: *algunos amigos* ('some friends'), *algo de suerte / leche* ('a bit of luck/milk').

When speakers wish to assign a quantity equal to zero to the Thing, the quantifier *ningún* ('no') and the expression *nada de* ('nothing of') are used. The first is employed with discontinuous entities (*ningún amigo* 'no friend'), and the second is used with continuous entities (*nada de dinero* 'no money'). *Nada de*, however, is slightly different from *ningún* in that it carries a strong emphasis on the negation, and so a sentence like *No tengo nada de dinero* is best translated as 'I have absolute no money'. The closest equivalent in Spanish to English *I have no money* is in fact *No tengo dinero* ('I don't have money'), where no Deictic or Numerative is inserted. It is the same solution we find for plural discontinuous entities, since the quantifier *ningún* has no proper plural form in Spanish. As a consequence, the Spanish equivalent of *I have no friends* is *No tengo amigos.*

All the indefinite quantifiers treated so far can express both internal and external quantification. Nevertheless, there are some forms in Spanish that specialize in the expression of internal quantification. These can be classified depending on the degree of coverage they denote for the set.

Maximal coverage or totality is indicated in Spanish through *todo* ('all') followed by the specific deictic: *todos los alumnos* ('all the students'), *toda el agua* ('all the water'). There are two pronouns related to this quantifier in Spanish. The first includes the totality of human beings (*todo el mundo* lit. 'all the world', 'everybody'); the second covers the totality of inanimate entities (*todo* 'all, everything'). When the relevant set consists of only two individuals, the word *ambos* ('both') is employed to indicate maximal coverage (*ambas cosas* 'both things').

Maximal coverage of a set is a meaning that can be combined with other nuances in Spanish. It possible, for instance, to signal maximal coverage of set while focusing the attention on every single individual belonging to it,

rather than on the set as a whole. Such meaning is conveyed with the words *cada* ('each, every') or *todo* with no Deictic: *cada alumno* ('every student'), *todo alumno* ('each student'). *Cada* is appropriate for every case, but *todo* is normally more suitable when the set is defined by the totality of instances of the class denoted by the Thing, not when the set emerges from the discourse. Let us elaborate on this crucial difference. If the word *fiesta* is introduced in the discourse, this automatically activates a set including the guests attending it. We can then use an expression of internal quantification, such as *muchos de los invitados* ('many of the guests'), *todos los invitados* ('all the guests') or *cada invitado* ('each guest') to refer to various proportions of those guests. This is an example of a set defined in the discourse, and the expression *todo invitado* sounds odd in this context in Spanish. Alternatively, we can refer to a set which has not been previously defined in the discourse. The mere reference to a class (such as 'man', 'guest') has the potential to define a set composed of all the instances of that class, and it is in these cases that *todo* is normally employed in Spanish. For this reason, the nominal group *todo invitado* is interpreted as referring to all instances of the class 'guest', rather than the totality of guests attending a particular event.

The quantifier *cualquier* and the related pronoun *cualquiera* (translated as 'any' in positive clauses in English) also combine the notion of maximal coverage of a set and emphasis on individuals. However, these expressions also add the notion that there is no significant difference between the individuals from the set, that they are interchangeable: *cualquier resultado sería aceptable* ('any result would be acceptable').

Minimal coverage of a set, that is, total exclusion, is indicated in Spanish through the quantifier *ningún* ('no'), already mentioned above. Nevertheless, when this form expresses internal quantification, it is often used as a pronoun followed by the preposition *de* (*ninguno de los invitados* 'none of the guests'). In addition, there are two pronouns that indicate minimal coverage of a set, which are the reverse of the forms *todo el mundo* ('everybody') and *todo* ('all'). These are *nadie*, which indicates minimal coverage of the set comprising all human beings, and *nada*, which refers to the set of inanimate entities. There is no quantifier of minimal coverage corresponding to *ambos* ('both') in Spanish. Consequently, the only translation of English *neither* is *ninguno de los dos* (lit. 'none of the two') or simply *ninguno* ('none').

6.2.1.4 The Epithet

The Epithet typically serves to ascribe some quality to the Thing in the nominal group. In some cases, this quality is added to those inherent to the

class denoted by the Thing, thus helping the speaker individuate it from other members of the same class. Consider example (21).

(21) *la   achicoria es   una   planta   compuesta y   perenne* (CREA)
     the   chicory be-Pr-3s a   plant   compound and perennial
     'The chicory is a compound and perennial plant.'

In the nominal group *una planta compuesta y perenne* the two Epithets (*compuesta* and *perenne*) describe qualities that are not necessarily found in all the entities we can categorize as 'plants'. In fact, these qualities are crucial to differentiate the chicory from other instances of plant. Likewise, when we say *la caja grande* ('the big box'), we choose the Epithet *grande* because it signals the precise quality that is relevant to distinguish the intended box from other boxes from the environment.

   Notice how our selection of an adequate Epithet takes into account its relevance to distinguish between members of the same class, which obviously share all the qualities inherent to the class. For instance, the quality *herbívoro* ('herbivorous') is normally applied to classes such as *animal* ('animal'), *mamífero* ('mammal') or *insecto* ('insect'), because not all the members of these classes are necessarily herbivores. However, it is not normally applied to a class such as *vaca* ('cow') because all the instances of this are herbivores. Furthermore, it is not applied to a class such as *ser* ('being, organism') either, as the qualities inherent to this class are not relevant to differentiate individuals by simply using the quality 'herbivorous'. A more adequate Epithet for that class would be *multicelular* ('multicellular'), as in *seres multicelulares* ('multicellular organisms'), contrasting with *seres unicelulares* ('unicellular organisms').

   Other Epithets do not seem to denote a quality that distinguishes the Thing from other members of the same class. Instead, they express the speaker's attitude or evaluation of the Thing, as can be seen in examples such as *una comida excelente* ('an excellent meal'), *un libro maravilloso* ('a marvellous book') or *una situación desesperada* ('a desperate situation'). Because this kind of characterization provided by the Epithet pertains to the interpersonal meaning, it cannot be used to individuate entities. That explains why subjective Epithets can only appear in embedded relational processes if the Carrier denotes a non-specific individual or prototype, or if the embedded clause is of the non-defining type. Thus, one can say *Quiero un libro que sea interesante* ('I want a book that is interesting') or *Quiero ese libro, que es interesante* ('I want that book, which is interesting'). If the Carrier denotes a specific individual, the embedded clause cannot be defining with

these subjective Epithets: * *Quiero este libro que es interesante* ('I want that book that is interesting'). For similar reasons, subjective Epithets tend to be attached to non-specific individuals or prototypes, rather than to specific individuals, as can be seen from the examples provided above.

The difference between an objective or ideational Epithet and a subjective or interpersonal Epithet is partially reflected in the position of the Epithet within the nominal group in Spanish. Subjective Epithets can precede the Thing, while objective Epithets rarely do so. As a matter of fact, adjectives that lend themselves to both interpretations tend to show their character through the position they occupy within the nominal group. Thus, *un hombre pobre* ('a poor man') refers to a man who is not rich, whereas *un pobre hombre* shows the speaker's compassion or superiority towards a man who could in fact be rich. Likewise, *un coche grande* ('a big car') refers to the size of the car, whereas *un gran coche* ('a great car') says something about the speaker's evaluation.

6.2.1.5 The Classifier

The Classifier is used to refine the reference indicated by the Thing, as it permits us to refer to a subclass within the class signalled by it. For instance, the noun *bebida* ('drink') denotes a class with certain inherent properties, and the Classifier *alcohólica* ('alcoholic') restricts the reference to the particular subclass of 'alcoholic drinks' (*bebidas alcohólicas*).

The boundary line between the Epithet and the Classifier is not a clear-cut one, and in fact the transition from the former to the latter is just a matter of convention and cultural convenience. Any expression acting as an Epithet has the potential to turn into a Classifier if the property it denotes manifests itself in a particular group of entities frequently enough. In addition, the differentiation of the subclass must bear some significance to the speakers. For this reason, we often find that some professionals develop references to subclasses which are not necessarily shared by other speakers in the community.

The following can be regarded as examples of Classifiers in modern Spanish, as they denote a subclass rather than individuals with an additional property. Notice that the examples include realizations of the Classifier through adjectives, nouns and prepositional phrases:

- *Ballena azul* ('blue whale')
- *Metro ligero* ('light metro')
- *Traje de noche* ('nightdress')

- *Donut con chocolate* ('doughnut with chocolate')
- *Coche cama* (lit. 'car bed', 'sleeping car')
- *Células madre* (lit. 'cells mother', 'stem cells')

6.2.1.6 The Relational

The Relational element is similar to the Epithet in that it can be said to ascribe some general characteristic to the Thing in order to refine its reference. However, the Relational does not denote a proper quality that is added to those inherent to the class signalled by the Thing. Instead, it contributes meanings that often pertain to the interpersonal or textual metafunctions of language, as they serve to define relations between the Thing and other entities recoverable from the context or discourse, or to show the speaker's attitudes and evaluations.

The following are some of the commonest Relational meanings found in the Spanish nominal group:

- *Probability.* It is realized through adjectives typically associated with the expression of this modal meaning, such as *posible* ('possible') or *probable* ('probable'): *el posible autor del crimen* (lit. 'the possible author of the crime'), *el probable fin de los socialistas* (lit. 'the probable end of socialists').
- *Temporal location.* Certain adjectives help identify an entity by specifying the time span when the entity in question plays the role denoted by the Thing. Such specification, however, is of a rather imprecise nature, as it simply states if the entity is currently playing that role, if it no longer does it or if it will do some time in future. Examples of temporal adjectives are *actual* ('current'), *antiguo* or *anterior* ('former'), *futuro*: *el actual presidente* ('the current president'), *mi anterior esposa* ('my former wife'), *el futuro campeón* ('the future champion').
- *Order.* Ordinal numbers and certain adjectives indicating position within a group (such as *último* 'last') serve to define the order in which a set of entities are organized. Such order is based on any criterion set by the speaker: *la primera vez* ('the first time' temporal order), *la última persona de la cola* ('the last person in the line' spatial order), *el segundo país más pequeño* (lit. 'the second country most small' comparative order).
- *Intensification.* Some adjectives are only used to add emphasis to some of the characteristics inherent to the Thing. Most of these emphasizers in Spanish are adjectives related to the senses of 'completeness' (*completo* 'complete', *total* 'total') or 'authenticity' (*auténtico* 'authentic', *verdadero*

'true'): *un completo desconocido* ('a complete unknown'), *un verdadero cri-men* (lit. 'a real crime').

- *Addition.* The polyvalent word *otro* ('other') in Spanish has as one of its meanings the ascription of the Thing to a set already containing instances of the same class: *tomarse otra cerveza* ('to have one more beer'). Notice that *otro* is incompatible with the non-specific Deictic in Spanish *un* ('a').
- *Difference.* *Otro* can also express a meaning which is almost the opposite of addition. Depending on the context, it can indicate that the Thing signals a different instance of the same class: *preferir otro libro* ('to prefer a different book').
- *Status.* Adjectives such as *único* ('only') or *principal* ('main') specify the status of the Thing within a set of similar instances: *su única alegría* ('her only joy', the Thing is the only member of the set), *el principal problema* ('the main problem', the Thing occupies a prominent position in the set).
- *Identity.* The adjective *mismo* ('same') establishes an identity relationship between the Thing and other entities recoverable from the context: *el mismo problema* ('the same problem'). Notice that establishing a relationship of identity between two entities implies that they are of the same type or even that they are actually the same entity. As a matter of fact, a literal relation of identity in relational processes is normally built in Spanish by construing the two participants as the Identified and a relevant classification accompanied by *mismo* as the Identifier: *Doctor Jekyll y Hyde son la misma persona* ('Dr Jekyll and Hyde are the same person').

Evidence that the Relational element does not denote a proper quality like the Epithet is that very often it cannot appear as the Attribute in a relational process. For instance, *un libro pequeño* ('a small book') is *un libro que es pequeño* ('a book that is small'), but *un auténtico desastre* ('a real mess') is not *un desastre que es auténtico* ('a mess that is real'). The contrast between the Relational and the Epithet becomes more evident when we compare the meaning – and position – of adjectives that can receive both interpretations in the nominal group. Compare:

- *Un cuadro auténtico* ('an authentic painting' Epithet) with *un auténtico imbécil* ('a real idiot' Relational, expressing intensification)
- *Una persona mayor* ('an elderly person' Epithet) with *la mayor dificultad* ('the main difficulty' Relational, indicating status)
- *Una casa antigua* ('an old house' Epithet) with *mi antigua casa* ('my former house' Relational, expressing temporal location)

- *Un ejercicio perfecto* ('a perfect performance' Epithet); *un perfecto desconocido* ('a perfect unknown' Relational, expressing intensification).

It will be noticed that the Relational has a tendency to appear to the left of the Thing. However, a few adjectives that realize this element (such *anterior* ['preceding'] and *posterior* ['following']) are also often placed to the right of the Thing. In these cases, the Relational is incompatible with an Epithet, and only Classifiers may be found between the Thing and the Relational. Thus, a group like *el año bisiesto anterior* ('the previous leap year') can only mean 'the leap year preceding another leap year' in Spanish, and not 'the year preceding another year, which incidentally was a leap year'.

6.2.1.7 The Modifier

The Modifier is an element in the nominal group that adds some characterization to the Thing, thus serving a similar function to that of the Epithet. However, the Modifier is different from the Epithet in that it does not signal a quality. Rather, it defines a process in which the Thing is involved in some way, which produces a characterization with a high degree of complexity and flexibility.

It is not surprising that the typical realization of the Modifier in Spanish and most languages is also the typical realization of a process: the clause. This is embedded in the nominal group by adopting the form of either a relative clause or a non-finite clause.

In relative clauses the Thing can act as any of the participants or circumstantials in the clause, as examples (22–23) show.

(22) *drogas   que   destruyen   partes   del   cerebro* (CREA)
  drugs   that   destroy-Pr-3p parts   of-the   brain
  'drugs that destroy certain parts of the brain'

(23) *los problemas con los que   la física y la química   se enfrentaban*
                                                                   (CREA)
  the   with which the physics and the chemistry   face-P-ipfv-3p
    problems
  'the problems physics and chemistry were then facing'

Examples (22–23) also illustrate an interesting characteristic of relative pronouns in Spanish: when the participant represented by the relative pronoun is realized by a nominal group, the invariable form *que* is preferred (22). However, when that participant is realized by a prepositional phrase,

the compound form Deictic *el* + *que* is employed (23). As for the sense of possession, this is traditionally expressed through the relative pronoun *cuyo* (inflected for gender and number), as can be seen in (24).

(24) *El tiempo es   una enfermedad cuya silenciosa incubación generalmente*
     the time be-Pr-3s a disease   whose silent incubation generally
     se   nos pasa   inadvertida. (CREA)
     REF   us   pass-Pr-3s unnoticed
     'Time is a disease whose silent incubation generally goes unnoticed.'

In modern Spanish, however, the form *cuyo* is increasingly restricted to the written language or formal situations, and the alternative construction *que* + possessive Deictic is often heard in informal speech, as in (25).

(25) *yo tenía   un amigo que su padre tenía   un taxi* (CREA)
     I   have-P-ipfv-1s a friend that his father have-P-ipfv-3s a taxi
     'I had a friend whose father had a taxi'

We conclude by pointing out that relative clauses are sensitive to the specificity of the Thing they modify in Spanish. This is indicated through the mode selection of the verbs appearing within the relative clause. Consider examples (26–27).

(26) *ahora vamos a ver   y   escuchar a una mujer que sabe   muchísimo*
                                                                          (CREA)
     now   see-GoingTo-1p and listen   a woman   that knows a-lot
     'Now we're gonna see and listen to a woman that knows a lot of things'

(27) *Estados Unidos está en la espera   de un   que   sepa*
                                           estadista
     The United   is   on the wait   of a   that   know-Pr-Subj-3s
       States   statesman
     conducirle   a las realidades del   siglo   venidero. (CREA)
     lead-them   to the realities   of-the century coming
     'The United States are waiting for a statesman that can lead them
       through the realities of the next century.'

In example (26) the Thing (*mujer*) refers to a specific individual, and for this reason the mode appropriate for the relative clause is the Indicative (*sabe*). In (27), however, the Thing (*estadista*) represents a prototypical

instance (which is by definition non-specific), and this fact is reflected in the selection of the Subjunctive mode for the relative clause (*sepa*).

In non-finite clauses, the role the Thing may adopt is more restricted. With Gerund clauses, which carry an active meaning, the Thing must be the Actor, the Senser, the Sayer or the Carrier, depending on the process type. In example (28), for instance, the Thing (*multitud*) acts as the Senser of a mental process (*viendo*).

(28) *Hay*   **tanta multitud viendo**   *el partido*   *que*   *es Imposible.*
     there-is   so-many crowd watching the match that   is impossible
     disfrutarlo. (CREA)
     enjoy-it
     'There are so many people watching the match that you can't enjoy it.'

With Past Participle clauses, which imply a passive meaning, the Thing must be the Goal, the Phenomenon or the Saying. In example (29), for instance, the Thing (*puerta*) acts as the Goal. However, middle material processes are acceptable in Spanish in these clauses, and then the Thing takes on the role of Actor (30).

(29) *una*   *puerta* *recién*   *pintada*
     a   door   recently painted
     'a freshly painted door'

(30) *un*   *periodista*   *recién*   *llegado*   *de*   *Iraq*
     a   journalist   recently   arrived   from   Iraq
     'a journalist just arrived from Iraq'

Also very common as the realization of the Modifier are prepositional phrases, which have the ability to make implicit reference to some kind of process. Consider the following examples and the processes they evoke:

- *un paquete de Barcelona* ('a parcel from Barcelona'), suggesting the processes 'come', 'send' or similar;
- *un hombre con problemas* ('a man with problems'), suggesting the process 'have';
- *un hombre con sombrero* ('a man in a hat'), suggesting the process 'wear';
- *una película sobre la violencia* ('a film about violence'), suggesting the processes 'be about', 'talk about';

- *una ciudad entre dos países* ('a town between two countries'), suggesting the processes 'be', 'lie';
- *una muerte por desnutrición* ('a death caused by malnutrition') suggesting the processes 'cause', 'provoke', etc.

6.2.2 Logical structure of the nominal group

In section 6.2.1 we saw that the central component in the nominal group is the Thing, and that its meaning can be refined through the insertion of other elements, such as the Epithet, the Classifier, the Deictic. In this section we will consider how the meanings contributed by these extra elements are organized to refine the Thing and how this organization is reflected in the realization of the nominal group.

There are two main principles relevant in the description of the logical structure of nominal group in Spanish. First, the way in which the meaning contributed by the Thing is refined by the extra elements can be defined as a process of ever more focused denotation. For instance, common nouns, such as *libro* ('book') or *casa* ('house'), make reference to classes, which contain a set of typical characteristics found in all the instances of the class. If an Epithet is added (*libro azul* 'blue book', *casa grande* 'big house'), the quality it represents is added to the characteristics of the Thing, thus differentiating it from other entities that belong to the same class but do not share the quality. The insertion of a Modifier adds a new characteristic that differentiates the Thing from other entities that belong to the same class and share the extra quality denoted by the Epithet, as in *libro azul sobre la mesa* ('blue book on the table'), *casa grande junto al río* ('big house on the river'). These examples illustrate how each extra element that is added helps define the entity denoted by the nominal group in a more precise way.

Second, the elements added to the nominal group to refine the reference of the Thing are interpreted following a hierarchical organization similar to that of concentric circles. Thus, in the example *un magnífico profesor de inglés* ('a wonderful English teacher') the characteristic introduced by *magnífico* is applied to the segment *profesor de inglés*, and not to the Thing (*profesor*) in isolation. This explains why 'a wonderful English teacher' can be 'an awful French teacher'. Consequently, the most accurate segmentation for this group is [*magnífico* [[*profesor*] *de inglés*]], rather than [[[*magnífico*] *professor*] *de inglés*] or [[*magnífico*] [*professor*] [*de ingles*]].

In addition, the layering in the addition of extra elements in the nominal group follows a well-defined pattern: certain elements in the nominal group

are, due to their meaning, closer to the Thing than others, and this is reflected in the position they occupy within the group.

The element that fills the first layer of extra characterization in the nominal group is the Classifier. This element always appears immediately following the Thing in Spanish, and no other element may be inserted between the two. The bond between the Thing and the Classifier is in fact so close that new lexical items often arise from this construction. For instance, in present-day Spanish it is possible to say *un guardia civil* (lit. 'a civil guardian', a member of one of the branches of the Spanish police) or *un guardiacivil*. The first has the plural form *guardias civiles*, where both the Thing and the Classifier are inflected for number. In the second, the plural form is *guardiaciviles*, revealing that speakers regard this as a single lexical item.

The next layer, added on top of the Thing or the Thing plus the Classifier if this is present, is occupied by the Epithet. This appears next to the Classifier, as in *un coche deportivo rojo* (lit. 'a car sports red', 'a red sports car'). There is, however, a difference between objective Epithets and subjective Epithets in Spanish. As we saw above, subjective Epithets often appear before the Thing, as in *un precioso coche deportivo rojo* (lit. 'a magnificent car sports red', 'a magnificent red sports car'). If they are placed after the Thing, they follow any objective Epithet present in the nominal group (*un coche deportivo rojo precioso*), which suggest that subjective Epithets occupy a more superficial layer within the nominal group than objective Epithets.

The element that occupies the last position to the right of the Thing in the Spanish nominal group is the Modifier, reflecting the fact that this element has a more distant relationship with the Thing than the Classifier or the Epithet: *un coche deportivo rojo precioso recién salido de fábrica* (lit. 'a magnificent red sports car just out of the factory').

All the other elements that can be inserted in the nominal group are placed to the left of the Thing in Spanish. Thus, we can say that, as a rule, elements placed to the right of the Thing contribute a more central meaning than those found to the left.

The Relational and Numerative are both more peripheral than the elements mentioned so far. Nevertheless, it is hard to claim that one is more peripheral than the other, as they can be used with different word orders. Thus, one can say *los tres primeros objetos* ('the three first objects') or *los primeros tres objetos* ('the first three objects'); *muchos otros* ('many other') or *otros muchos* ('other many'). This variability is probably reflecting the fact that speakers intend different logical structures for their utterances due to
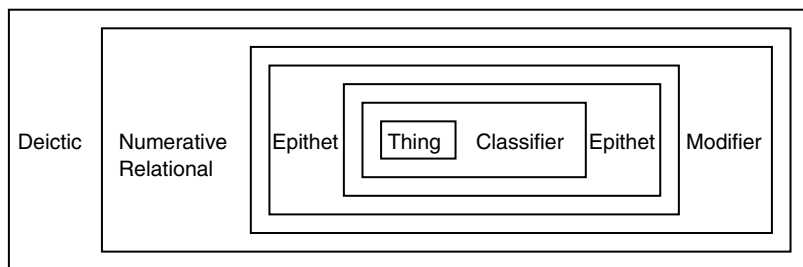
FIGURE 6.1   Logical structure of the Spanish nominal group

communicative needs, as the Numerative and the Relational can alternate in the position they occupy in the hierarchy.

Finally, the most external of all elements in the Spanish nominal group is the Deictic, which always appears in initial position: *la única salida* ('the only way out'), *mis otros amigos* ('my other friends'). The only exception to this are Numerative expressions of internal quantification, which often precede the Deictic: *la mitad de la clase* ('half the class'), *todos los alumnos* ('all the students').

To summarize, we can say that the position of the extra elements that refine the characterization of the Thing in Spanish reflects their scope of application. Broadly speaking, elements positioned to the right of the Thing contribute a more central meaning, whereas those found to the left can be said to be more peripheral. In addition, the further away from the Thing an element is placed, the more peripheral its semantic contribution is. Figure 6.1 offers a graphic representation of the hierarchical organization within the nominal group.

6.3 The verbal group

6.3.1 Experiential structure of the verbal group

If the central component of the nominal group is the Thing, the central component of the verbal group is the Process. This element is the only one that is indispensable to build a verbal group and it makes the most important semantic contribution, as it defines the transitivity structure of the whole clause. All the other elements serve to qualify the Process by adding meanings concerning voice, modality, tense and aspect. These are discussed in turn.

6.3.1.1 Voice

Voice can take two values in Spanish: active or passive. If a Process is construed as active, the clause takes the perspective of the Actor, the Senser or the Sayer (depending on the process type), and these participants show agreement with the finite form in the verbal group. The active voice receives an unmarked realization in the verbal group in Spanish, as example (31) illustrates.

(31) *Juan   escribió   el   libro.*
     Juan   write-P-pfv-3s the   book
     'Juan wrote the book.'

In contrast, the clause in the passive voice takes the perspective of the Goal, the Phenomenon or the Saying, and so it is these participants that show agreement with the finite form. There are two types of passive voice in Spanish. One allows the Actor, Senser or Sayer to appear in the clause, under the form of a Circumstantial in the transitivity structure. This passive voice is realized in Spanish by the verb *ser* ('be') followed by the Past Participle of the main verb, as in (32).

(32) *El   libro   fue escrito   por   Juan*
     the   book   write-P-pfv-Pass-3s   by   Juan
     'The book was written by Juan.'

Alternatively, the passive voice can be realized in Spanish by the usual forms that express active voice, preceded by the particle *se*. This construction does not allow the Actor, Senser or Sayer to appear in the clause, and so is particularly useful when these participants must be left unmentioned, as in example (33).

(33) *La   catedral   se   construyó   en   1625.*
     the   cathedral   PASS   build-P-pfv-3s   in   1625
     'The cathedral was built in 1625.'

6.3.1.2 Modality

The meanings of modality were already discussed in section 4.4, as well as the possible realizations within the verbal group in Spanish, so they will not be repeated here.

6.3.1.3 Tense

As is well known, tense permits speakers to locate a process in time. Like in most languages, the Spanish tense system is based on two fundamental elements:

(i) a tripartite division between present, past and future. These have an intuitive meaning in all languages and they constitute the organizing principle for other temporal expressions outside the verbal group. However, it important to emphasize that 'present', 'past' and 'future' refer to temporal relations (simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority, respectively) rather than specific time stretches. This confusion has often led to a discussion about the real meaning behind the term 'present': does it refer to a point in time or a period? If a period, how long is it? These questions are less relevant if we consider that 'present' only identifies a temporal relation, and as such its meaning varies depending on the time scale we use. For instance, it is possible to establish temporal relations of present, past and future using different time units. Thus, we obtain the expressions *el año pasado* ('last year'), *este año* ('this year') and *el año que viene* ('next year'), correlating with *ayer* ('yesterday'), *hoy* ('today') and *mañana* ('tomorrow'). Obviously, present, past and future occupy different time stretches in these examples, because they are combined with different time units (years and days, in the examples). Likewise, the adverb *ahora* ('now') has a different temporal scope in *¿Que está haciendo ahora mismo?* ('What is s/he doing right now?') and *Ahora vivimos en un periodo interglacial* ('We live now in an interglacial period'), due to the different time scales that emerge from the aspectual configuration and the characteristics of the processes involved.

(ii) A recurrent system that allows concatenations of the three basic temporal relations to produce complex relations (Matthiessen 1996). Thanks to this, it is possible to construct complex temporal relations such as 'past of the past' or 'past of the present'.

The three basic temporal relations (present, past, future) are realized in Spanish by forms that receive these same names. Notice that, like all Romance languages, Spanish has two forms to talk about the past, each conveying different aspectual information, as we will see below:

- Present: *Tengo hambre* ('I'm hungry')
- Past: *Tenía/Tuve hambre* ('I was hungry')
- Future: *Tendré hambre* ('I'll be hungry').

Complex temporal relations can be divided into two groups in Spanish. The first one comprises temporal relations that have been shifted to the past. They are the result of simply adding a final relation of anteriority to their habitual configuration. If the examples listed above are preceded by the clause *Dijo que* ('s/he said that'), we would see the following realizations:

- Present in the past: *Dijo que tenía hambre* ('S/he said I was hungry')
- Past in the past: *Dijo que había tenido hambre* ('S/he said I had been hungry')
- Future in the past: *Dijo que tendría hambre* ('S/he said I'd be hungry').

Notice that the realization of the 'present of the past' relation is the same as for simple 'past'. However, the 'past of the past' relation is realized by the Past Perfect tense, whereas the 'future of the past' is realized by the Conditional tense.

The second group of complex temporal relations are built taking the present as the final relation. Spanish has a 'future of the present' and a 'past in the present', realized by the equivalent in Spanish of *going to* and the Present Perfect respectively:

- Past in the present: *He tenido hambre* ('I've been hungry')
- Future in the present: *Voy a tener hambre* ('I'm going to be hungry').

These complex relations express a sense of present relevance that is missing in the corresponding simple relations. Consider the following examples of 'future of the present':

- *El cielo está muy oscuro, creo que va a llover.* ('The sky is very dark, I think it's going to rain')
- *Está muy enfermo, se va a morir.* ('He is very ill, he's going to die')
- *María va a ser mamá.* (lit. 'María is going to be mom', 'María is expecting a child')

The use of a form that expresses the 'future of the present' relation is necessary in these Spanish examples because the processes described are related with some state in the present, or can be regarded as already moving towards the culmination of the process. For this reason, the use of a simple future is inadequate in Spanish: this tense establishes no connection with the present time. Also notice that the idea of recentness or imminence is not necessarily part of the meaning of the clause: the process of raining

is certainly imminent if we see a cloudy sky, but the events of delivering a baby or dying may take place months or even years from the present.

The type of present relevance expressed by the 'past of the present' forms is more heterogeneous, as it stems from three quite distinct meanings in Spanish, which we will consider in turn.

A clear case of present relevance is provided by examples in which the process started in the past and continues in the present (Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985), as in (34).

(34) *Porque*   *he sido*   *responsable*   *toda*   *mi*   *vida.* (CREA)
     because   be-Pr-pf-1s   responsible   all   my   life
     'I've been a responsible person all my life.'

A variation on this is when the speaker states that the process has not taken place over a stretch of time that started in the past and continues in the present, as in (35).

(35) *Hace*   *tiempo*   *que*   *no*   *lo*   *he leído.* (CREA)
     ago   time   that   NEG   it   read-Pr-pf-1s
     'I' haven't read it recently, it's a long time since I last read it.'

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the Present Perfect is not the most common realization for this specific type of 'past of present' in Spanish. More frequent realizations are the Present tense and the verb *llevar* ('carry, take') followed by the Present Participle, as shown in (36–37).

(36) *Hace*   *meses*   *que*   *sólo*   *desvaría.* (CREA)
     since   months   that   only   be-out-of-one's-mind-Pr-3s
     'He's been out of his mind for months now.'

(37) *El*   *café*   *lleva*   *hirviendo*   *unos*   *minutos.* (CREA)
     the   coffee   carry-Pr-3s   boil-Gerund   some   minutes
     'The coffee has been boiling for some minutes.'

These various choices for the expression of the 'past of present' permits Spanish speakers to use some realizations for highly specialized meanings, thus producing semantic contrasts which are absent in other languages. For instance, most Spanish speakers assume there is a difference between *Ha*

estado de vacaciones una semana and *Lleva de vacaciones una semana*, both translated into English as 'he's been on holiday for a week'. To most speakers only the second clause conveys the idea that the process is still going on in the present (i.e. he is still on holiday), while the first one implies that there is no such continuation (i.e. he is back from holidays, as the Perfect tense does not indicate continuation here, but a different type of present relevance which will be discussed later). Likewise, Spanish employs different realizations for a negative type of continuation (38) and the negation of a positive continuation (39), which are only differentiated through the aspectual configuration of the processes in other languages.

(38)　*Llevo*　　　*sin*　　　*comer*　　　*desde*　　*las*　　*9.*
　　　carry-Pr-1s　without　eat-Gerund　since　　the　　9.
　　　'I haven't had anything to eat since 9.'

(39)　*No*　　　*llevo*　　　*comiendo*　　*desde*　　*las*　　*9*
　　　NEG　　carry-Pr-1s　eat-Gerund　since　　the　　9.
　　　'I haven't been eating since 9.'

The second case of present relevance in Spanish is illustrated by examples such as (40).

(40)　*El autor de este drama*　　*no*　　　*ha estado*　　*nunca*　　*en esta ciudad*
　　　the author of this play　NEG　　be-Pr-pf-3s　never　　in this town
　　　de　　*la*　　*antigua*　　*Prusia*　　*Oriental.* (CREA)
　　　of　　the　　former　　Prussia　　Eastern
　　　'The author of this play has never been in this town of what was East
　　　　Prussia.'

Here the process is presented as an experience (Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985), an event that has taken place in the past without specifying when. Also crucially, the experience must be compatible with change in future. For instance, in example (40) a Spanish speaker would draw the implication that the author mentioned in the passage is still alive (or was at least when the text was written), and so s/he might change his/her experience by visiting the town in question. The use of the Past tense (*estuvo*), which is not connected with the present, would imply that the experience cannot change in future, most often because the author is now dead. Talking about an experience in a way which is not connected with the present tends to carry

the implicature that the concerned entity does not exist anymore, but it
need not always be the case. Consider example (41), which describes an
experience very similar to that of (40).

(41) *Viví   en Francia tres años,   pero nunca visité   París.*
      live-P-pfv-1s in France three years but   never visit-P-pfv-1s Paris
      'I lived in France for three years, but I never visited Paris.'

The use of the Past tense in (41) signals that the speaker regards the experi-
ence of 'never having visited Paris' as unconnected with the present. This is
not, however, because s/he is dead, but simply because the period when
s/he lived in France is over now. It seems then that past experiences in
Spanish need not concern the whole of one's life, but may be restricted to
a certain period or episode of it.

   Finally, the third case of 'past with present relevance' in Spanish is of a
more subjective nature. It is present in examples such as (42–43).

(42) *Ha habido   un   accidente.*
      there-be-Pr-pf-3s   an   accident
      'There's been an accident.'

(43) *¿Qué   has dicho?*
      what   say-Pr-pf-2s
      'What did you say?'

The key factor accounting for the present relevance of the processes in
(42–43) is that they are perceived by the speaker as a relevant piece of news
(Palmer 1974), a recent development that can be regarded as a novelty
worth communicating. An insight into the kind of meaning this 'past of the
present' involves in Spanish can be gained by considering the effect it some-
times has when used inappropriately, as in *Los americanos han mandado un
hombre a la luna* ('Americans have sent a man to the moon'). Confronted
with an utterance of this kind, a Spanish speaker would conclude that the
speaker has just learned about an event that is well known, no longer a nov-
elty to the rest of speakers in the community.

   Unlike in many other languages that have a Perfect/Past opposition,
the use of specific time locatives in the clause is not incompatible with the
Present Perfect in Spanish. However, the further away from the present
time is the interval signalled by the locative, the less likely it is for the

Perfect to form an acceptable utterance in Spanish. Expressions such as *hace una hora* ('an hour ago') or *hace un momento* ('a moment ago') are routinely combined with the Perfect, whereas a time locative such as *la semana pasada* ('last week') accompanies the Perfect less often, and *hace 10 años* ('ten years ago') is very unlikely to appear with it. The interrogative locative *cuándo* ('when') is very commonly used with the Perfect (*¿Cuándo has llegado?* 'When did you arrive?'), probably because its very interrogative nature is perceived by Spanish speakers as strongly connected with the concept of 'novelty worth communicating'.

Once again, it should be noticed that the sense of 'recentness' that is part of the 'past of present' tense is rather variable, as it is measured differently depending on the characteristics of the process. For instance, a process such as *llamar a la puerta* ('knock on the door, ring the doorbell') can be regarded as a recent development in Spanish perhaps only hours after it has taken place, and it would be very difficult to find a situation in which a Spanish speaker would select the 'past of present' tense a day after the event has taken place. In contrast, a process such as *publicar un libro* ('publish a book, the coming out of a book') is normally treated as a recent development even months after the event has taken place (44).

(44) *En apenas cuatro   se   han publicado   una   veintena de*
     semanas
    in hardly four weeks PASS   publish-Pr-pf-pl a   twenty   of
    libros   y   estudios históricos sobre el   acusado (CREA)
    books and studies historical on   the   accused
    'In less than four weeks about twenty books and historical studies on
     the accused have been published.'

The meaning of relative recentness present in the 'past of present' tense can be emphasized in Spanish through the use of the auxiliary *acabar de* (lit. 'finish'), as in examples (45–46).

(45) *Acabo   de   hablar   con   él.*
    finish-Pr-1s of   talk-Inf with   him
    'I've just talked to him, I've just been talking to him.'

(46) *dos volúmenes que acaban   de llegar   a las librerías españolas.*
                               (CREA)
    two volumes that finish-Pr-3p of arrive-Inf to the bookshops Spanish
    'Two volumes that have just hit Spanish bookshops.'

6.3.1.4 Aspect

Aspect is the meaning in the verbal group that defines various properties concerning the internal configuration of the process. The most crucial aspectual distinction in Spanish divides processes into two groups: structural processes and phenomenal processes (Goldsmith and Woisetschlaeger 1982).

Structural processes are construed as properties of the world, rather than events that take place. They have a descriptive character, and their temporal limits are vague, since these processes obtain throughout the whole length of the relevant world. Examples (47–48) contain examples of processes construed as structural in Spanish.

(47) *Tengo   20   años.*
      have-Pr-1s 20   years
      'I'm 20 years old.'

(48) *Vivo   en   Madrid.*
      live-Pr-1s   in   Madrid
      'I live in Madrid.'

Phenomenal processes are construed as actual events that take place at a specific time, or are bound to a concrete episode. This is illustrated by examples (49–50).

(49) *He corrido   10   kilómetros.*
      run-Pr-pf-1s   10   kilometres
      'I've run 10 kilometres.'

(50) *Estaba leyendo   el   periódico.*
      read-P-ipfv-Prog-1s   the   newspapers
      'I was reading the news.'

Notice that this distinction does not coincide with the traditional classification between stative and dynamic situations (Comrie 1976). In Spanish, almost any process can be construed as structural or phenomenal, even if the lexical verb can be identified as typically dynamic or stative. Consider examples (51–52), in which typically stative situations have been construed as phenomenal processes.

(51) *No   me   gustó   la   película.*
     NEG   me   like-P-pfv-3s   the   film
     'I didn't like the film.'

(52) *Enero   está siendo   un   mes   desastroso.*
     January be-Pr-Prog-3s   a   month   disastrous
     'January has been a terrible month so far.'

The contrast between structural and phenomenal processes becomes evident when we compare two different construals of the same process, as in examples (53–54).

(53) *No   quería   que   María   saliera   sola.*
     NEG   want-P-ipfv-3s that   Maria   go-out-P-Subj-3s alone
     'He didn't want Maria going out alone.'

(54) *No   quiso   que   María   saliera   sola.*
     NEG   want-P-pfv-3s   that   Maria   go-out-P-Subj-3s alone
     'He didn't want Maria going out alone.'

In (53) the process of 'wanting' is construed as structural, and so it is not associated to any actualization or specific episode. Consequently, there is no implication that an instance of the process of 'her going out alone' ever took place. Example (53) simply describes the Senser's attitudes and feelings. However, in (54) the process of 'wanting' is construed as phenomenal, which implies that there was a real event of 'her going out alone' that took place, and that the Senser adopted a certain attitude to it. In other words, in (53) the process of 'wanting' has a wider scope, as it refers to a general attitude from the Senser, whereas in (54) the process of 'wanting' is restricted to a specific episode.

In a similar way, typically dynamic situations are often construed as structural in Spanish, as in examples (55–56). Here the processes do not depict actual events of 'going' or 'increasing', but simply present properties of the world such as spatial extent or correlation.

(55) *Europa   es   una península que   va   del Atlántico a los*
     Europe   be-Pr-3s   a peninsula   that   go-Pr-3s from-the Atlantic to the
     Urales. (CREA)
     Urals
     'Europe is a peninsula that stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals.'

(56) *En general, la mortalidad   aumenta   a medida que aumenta   la edad.*
                                                                        (CREA)
      As a rule, the mortality increases as   increases   the age
      'As a rule, mortality increases with age.'

So far, we have seen that processes can appear under two different forms in
Spanish: as descriptions of the world (structural processes) or as specific
events (phenomenal processes). In turn, phenomenal processes must be
presented as imperfective or as perfective in Spanish. This is the same as
saying that processes are viewed as either going on at the time signalled by
tense (57) or as finished. The latter can be because the process has reached
its natural goal (58) or simply because it has ceased (59).

(57) *Estoy leyendo   un   libro.*
      read-Pr-Prog-1s   a   book
      'I'm reading a book.'

(58) *He preparado   la   cena.*
      prepare-Pr-pf-1s   the   dinner
      'I've prepared dinner.'

(59) *Corrí   en   el   parque.*
      run-P-pfv-1s in   the   park
      'I ran in the park.'

These are the basic aspectual meanings marked on the Spanish verbal
group. Let us now look in more detail at the realization they receive.
   Imperfectivity can be expressed in Spanish through any form of the verb
except the Perfective Past, as examples (60–61) show.

(60) *¿Qué   miras?*
      what   look-at-Pr-2s
      'What are you looking at?'

(61) *En   estos   momentos   llueve   sobre   Madrid.*
      in   these   moments   rain-Pr-3s   on   Madrid
      'Right now it's raining on Madrid.'

However, there is a growing tendency in modern Spanish – especially in the
oral language – to indicate this aspect in an unambiguous way through the
construction *estar* ('be') followed by the Gerund, as in (62).

(62) *¿Qué   estás haciendo?*
     what   do-Pr-Prog-2s
     'What are you doing?'

Perfectivity can be expressed by any form of the verb in Spanish except the Imperfective Past, as in examples (63–64).

(63) *Hoy   llegaré   tarde.*
     today   arrive-F-1s   late
     'I'll come late today.'

(64) *Ayer   llegué   tarde.*
     yesterday   arrive-P-pfv-1s   late
     'I came late yesterday.'

Nevertheless, the Present tense is infrequently used to indicate Perfectivity because there are not many situations in which we need to speak of perfective, phenomenal processes developing in the present time. Examples (65–66) illustrate a couple of these rare occasions.

(65) *Balón   en corto   para Diego,   retrasa   ante   el presing de*
     ball   in short   for Diego   pass-back-Pr-3s   before   the pressing of
     Pepe Mejía. (CREA)
     Pepe Mejía
     'Short pass for Diego, who passes back pressed by Pepe Mejía.'

(66) *Catalina   desaparece   por la puerta   que   se encuentra tras el*
     Catalina   disappear-   through the door   that find-Pr-3s   behind
                Pr-3s   the
     mostrador   y   Gertrudis   se concentra   en beber despacio
                          Avendaño
     counter   and   Gertrudis   concentrate-Pr-3s   in drink slowly
                          Avendaño
     su limonada   mientras   observa   todo   a su alrededor. (CREA)
     her lemonade   as   observe-Pr-3s   all   around her
     'Catalina disappears through the door behind the counter and
       Gertrudis Avendaño just concentrates on drinking her lemonade
       slowly as she looks around.'

As for the distinction between structural and phenomenal processes, this is not often overtly marked in the present, since the Present tense is the

normal realization for both, as examples (65–66) have shown. In spite of this, it is difficult to find contexts in which ambiguity between both readings is a real problem. Typically dynamic verbs in the Present are ambiguous between a structural and a perfective phenomenal interpretation, but as we have just seen, perfective phenomenality in the present time is only appropriate in very specific communicative settings. Typically stative verbs are more likely to provoke ambiguity: if I say *No me gusta esta carne* ('I don't like this meat'), do I mean I don't like this kind of meat in general or the particular meat I'm eating? The context is normally all that is needed to solve the ambiguity. In addition, there is a growing tendency in modern Spanish to indicate phenomenality with typically stative situations by using the construction *estar* ('be') followed by the Gerund, as in (67–68).

(67) *Esta   Copa   no   me   está gustando.* (CREA)
      this   cup   NEG   me   like-Pr-Prog-3s
      'I'm not enjoying this Cup.'

(68) *estudiaremos   si   está habiendo   errores.* (CREA)
      study-F-1p   if   there-be-Pr-Prog   mistakes
      'We'll investigate if there are mistakes being made.'

The distinction between structural and phenomenal processes is much more important when talking about the past in Spanish, as this language has two separate Past tenses to mark the difference. Consider the following pairs:

  (i) (a) *Iba a la estación* 'he went to the station'. Imperfective Past, ambiguous between imperfective phenomenality ('he was going to the station') and structural interpretation ('he went to the station [everyday]').
     (b) *Fue a la estación* 'he went to the station'. Perfective Past, perfective phenomenal interpretation ('he went to the station [that day]').
 (ii) (a) *No sabía qué hacer* 'he didn't know what to do'. Imperfective Past, structural interpretation.
     (b) *No supo qué hacer* 'he didn't know what to do, he couldn't think of anything to do'. Perfective Past, perfective phenomenal interpretation.
(iii) (a) *Era muy amable* 'he was very kind'. Imperfective Past, structural interpretation.

(b) *Fue muy amable* 'he was very kind'. Perfective Past, phenomenal interpretation ('he was very kind [on that occasion]', 'that was very kind of him').

6.3.2 Logical structure of the verbal group

The four meanings that can appear in the verbal group (tense, voice, aspect, modality) are added to the meaning contributed by the lexical verb following a hierarchical stratification similar to that described for the nominal group. Some of these meanings are felt by the speaker to affect the fundamental configuration of the process more profoundly than others, and so they can be said to occupy a layer closer to the core, that is, the Process. Other meanings occupy more peripheral layers, and so are superimposed on the core as well as more central meanings if they are present. This logical hierarchy in the addition of the four meanings is reflected in the order their realizations take within the verbal group when they are not conflated under a single form:[1] more central meanings remain near the lexical verb, whereas more peripheral meanings appear far from it.

Voice is the meaning most closely bound to the process in Spanish, probably because it has an impact on the transitivity structure of the clause. The voice element always precedes the lexical verb, and no other element may come between the two, as examples (69–70) show.

(69) *Va a   tener que   ser   cerrada*
     TENSE   MODALITY   VOICE   LEXICAL VERB
     'is going to have to be closed'

(70) *Podría   estar   siendo   alimentada*
     TENSE/MODALITY   ASPECT   VOICE   LEXICAL VERB
     'might be being fed'

In contrast, tense is perceived by Spanish speakers as making the most peripheral contribution to the total semantics of the process, and consequently it always occupies the leftmost position in the verbal group, as could be observed in examples (69–70). In fact, we could say that once the categories of aspect, voice and modality have completed the profile of the Process, tense locates the whole result in time. Thus, the verbal group can be analysed as a recurrent expansion of the elements that may come between the Finite – realizing tense – and the Process.

The elements that realize aspect and modality in the verbal group must be placed between those realizing tense and the lexical verb, but they do not occupy a fixed position relative to each other. It is true that modality normally precedes aspect, that is, it makes a more peripheral contribution in the characterization of the process. However, aspect may sometimes precede modality, in particular with the modal meaning of obligation. Consider examples (71–72).

(71) *Debería*   *estar*   *cantando*
     TENSE/MODALITY   ASPECT   LEXICAL VERB
     'should be singing'

(72) *Se están*   *teniendo que*   *encargar*
     TENSE/ASPECT   MODALITY   LEXICAL VERB
     'are having to look after'

The semantic difference between (71) and (72) is what we would expect from the hierarchical layering of meanings in the verbal group. Whereas (71) depicts a process in which a modal meaning of obligation is applied to an imperfective phenomenal process, (72) presents a process in which the aspectual meaning of phenomenality is applied to a modal meaning of obligation.

The hierarchy in the addition of meanings within the verbal group can be slightly altered by the presence of a second temporal element, as in (73).

(73) *Debía*   *haber*   *estado*   *lloviendo*
     TENSE/MODALITY   TENSE   ASPECT   LEXICAL VERB
     'it must (past) have been raining'

Here we have got a double indication of tense: the first one applies to the modality component, thus producing a contrast between the following:

(i) *debía haber estado lloviendo* (a probability statement in the past about an anterior event), and
(ii) *debe haber estado lloviendo* ('it must [present] have been raining', a probability statement in the present about an anterior event).

In addition, we find a second temporal element that applies to the main process, producing a contrast between the following:

(i) *debía haber estado lloviendo* (a probability statement in the past about an anterior event), and

(ii) *debía estar lloviendo* ('it must [past] be raining', a probability statement in the past about a simultaneous event).

The reader will have probably noticed that this pattern still yields a fourth combination in Spanish: a probability statement in the present about a simultaneous event, as in *debe estar lloviendo* ('it must be raining').

The reason why we find a double element of tense in these clauses is that expressions of probability often create a kind of temporal dissociation, which results from the fact that the probability meaning derives from a participant that is outside the transitivity structure of the clause (normally, the speaker). As a result of this, the modal component can be connected with a time which is independent from that of the proposition that is affected by the modalization, as we have seen above.

Such temporal dissociation is definitely rare outside the expression of probability, and only obligation is sometimes found in these constructions, as example (74) shows.

(74) *A esta edad es autosuficiente, debe   haber sido desparasitado*
      at this age is self-sufficient must-Pr-3s have-parasites-removed

		TENSE / MODALITY	TENSE	VOICE	LEXICALVERB

      al menos dos y   debe   haber superado   la vacunación
      veces
      at least two and must-Pr-3s go-through-Inf-Pass the vaccination
      times

		TENSE / MODALITY	TENSE	LEXICAL VERB

   diez días antes. (CREA)
   ten days before

   'At this age it [a cat] is perfectly self-sufficient, it has to have been cleaned of parasites at least twice and has to have been vaccinated ten days earlier.'

6.4 The adjectival and adverbial groups

Adjectival and adverbial groups have an adjective and an adverb as the central element respectively. Both tend to be rather similar in the meaning they convey, as many adverbs denote qualities and they are in fact morphologically derived from adjectives (a productive mechanism to obtain an

adverb out of an adjective in Spanish consists in adding the suffix – *mente*: *feliz* ('happy') → *felizmente* 'happily'). In this section we will not be considering adverbs that do not denote qualities (such as *hoy* 'yesterday' or *aquí* 'here') since these give rise to much simpler adverbial groups in which modification is highly restricted.

Adjectival groups and many adverbial groups serve the general purpose of adding some kind of characterization to another element in a clause or a group, as their meaning is related to qualities. Adverbial groups tend to characterize processes (75) whereas adjectival groups characterize processes or participants through the Process (76) as well as the Thing in a nominal group (77).

(75) *Juan   habla   **muy despacio**.*
      Juan   speaks-Pr-3s   very slowly
      'Juan speaks very slowly.'

(76) *Me   miró   **sorprendido.***
      me   look-P-pfv-3s   surprised
      'He looked at me surprised.'

(77) *Una   carrera   **muy lenta.***
      a   race   very slow
      'A very slow race.'

The two main types of modification one can find in both adverbial and adjectival groups are imprecise quantification or intensification (*muy alto* 'very tall') and relative quantification or comparison (*más alto* 'taller'). If both types of modification appear together, it is intensification that occupies the most external layer in the logical structure of the group, as intensification is then applied to the meaning of comparison: [*mucho* [*más* [*alto*]]] 'much taller'.

Intensification is expressed in adjectival and adverbial groups in much the same way as quantification within the nominal group, treated in section 6.2.1. As a matter of fact, virtually all the quantifying expressions discussed there are also used with the same meanings within adjectival and adverbial groups. However, the concept of quantification takes on a slightly different interpretation when applied to adjectives and adverbs. With these,

it does not signal quantity proper, but the degree or intensity in which the quality denoted by the adjective or adverbial manifests itself. The following examples show some instances of adjectival and adverbial groups containing intensification:

- *demasiado deprisa* ('too slowly')
- *poco asustado* ('little scared, not very scared'), *un poco asustado* ('a bit scared')
- *bastante despacio* ('rather slowly')
- *algo enfadado* ('a bit angry')

There are, however, three peculiarities that set adjectival and adverbial groups apart from nominal groups as far as quantification is concerned:

(i) The word *mucho* ('much, many, a lot') is replaced by *muy* ('very') in adjectival and adverbial groups (*muy deprisa* 'very quickly', *muy lento* 'very slow'). Yet *mucho* is used when intensifying a comparison (*mucho más deprisa* 'much more quickly', *mucho menos lento* 'much less slow').

(ii) Most adjectives and many adverbs possess a morphological realization for a kind of intensification which is slightly stronger than that provided by *muy*: *difícil* > *dificilísimo* ('really hard'), *rápido* > *rapidísimo* ('really quickly'). Some of these intensified forms are highly irregular, as they have been inherited from Latin: *pobre* ('poor') > *paupérrimo* ('really poor'). Prescriptive grammars codify the expressions *pésimo* and *óptimo* as the intensified forms of the adjectives *malo* ('bad') and *bueno* ('good') respectively. Nonetheless, these are regarded by most speakers as independent words today, and the regular forms *malísimo* and *buenísimo* have gained wide currency.

(iii) Any adverb expressing evaluation or attitude is susceptible of use as an intensifier within adjectival and adverbial groups, normally to indicate high quantity: *increíblemente bueno* ('incredibly good'), *terriblemente aburrido* ('terribly boring'). This can be defined as a process by which adverbs adopt interpersonal meanings at the expense of the ideational meaning.

The second kind of modification found in adjectival and adverbial groups is comparison, which is divided into two types. The first one is illustrated by example (78).

(78) *Juan　habla　　　más　deprisa　que　yo.*
　　　Juan　speak-Pr-3s　more　quickly　than　I
　　　'Juan speaks more quickly than me.'

In examples like (78) the speaker assigns a relative value to the quality expressed by the adjective or the adverb with the aim of establishing a comparison between two entities. The first entity can be the Thing of a nominal group or may be picked from the transitivity structure of the clause; the second entity, which is included in the adjectival group only as part of the comparative structure, is known as the Standard. For example, in (78) the first entity involved in the comparison is the Sayer of the clause (*Juan*), whereas the second entity or Stantard is *yo*. There are three possible relations of comparison:

- Superiority, realized in Spanish through the construction *más* + adjective/adverb + *que* ('more . . . than'): *más alto que yo* ('taller than me').
- Inferiority, realized through the construction *menos* + adjective/adverb + *que* ('less . . . than'): *menos alto que yo* ('less tall than me').
- Equality, realized through *tan* + adjective/adverb + *como,* or *igual de* + adjective/adverb + *que* ('as . . . as'): *tan alto como yo, igual de alto que yo* ('as tall as me').

These patterns, however, are altered in Spanish when the Standard is realized by a clause, the word *que* being replaced by *de lo que.* For example, in English we find the word *than* for the sentences *It is cheaper than yours* and *It was cheaper than I expected,* but the Spanish translations use different expressions to introduce the Standard: *Es más barato **que** el tuyo* ('It is cheaper than yours') as opposed to *Era más barato **de lo que** esperaba* ('It was cheaper than I expected'). This only affects comparisons of superiority and inferiority, not equality.

Comparative forms of superiority were obtained through inflectional morphology in Latin, and this gave way overtime to the syntactic pattern described above for Spanish. However, a few morphological forms have survived into modern times. These are *superior* ('upper'), *inferior* ('lower'), *mayor* ('bigger'), *menor* ('smaller'), *mejor* ('better') and *peor* ('worse'), even though only *mejor* and *peor* can be said to be genuine comparative forms in present-day Spanish. *Superior* and *inferior* cannot appear in comparative structures anymore and they admit the typical quantification of non-comparative forms (*calidad muy inferior* 'very low quality'), which reveals that they are treated by speakers as ordinary adjectives. *Mayor* has acquired

the more specific meaning of 'aged' (*una persona muy mayor* 'a very old person'), and it is often replaced by the regular *más grande* (lit. 'more big') in the sense of size. A similar path has followed *menor,* which tends to be used with the meaning of 'minor' more often than 'smaller'. For this, the regular construction *más pequeño* (lit. 'more small') has become standard. The only syntactic constructions that have still not gained social acceptance are *más bueno* (lit. 'more good') and *más malo* (lit. 'more bad'), but even these are not infrequent in vernacular use. However, notice that some temporal adverbs already incorporate comparison as part of their meaning, such as *antes* ('earlier') and *después* ('later').

   The comparative relations of superiority and inferiority admit further modification through the specification of the quantity that differentiates two participants. Such specification normally takes the form of a proportion measured in 'times', but adverbs that indicate time or space are also often accompanied by temporal or spatial extents:

- *Más caro* ('more expensive') > *tres veces más caro* (lit. 'three times more expensive')
- *Más abajo* (lit. 'more down', 'further down') > *dos metros más abajo* (lit. 'two metres more down')
- *Antes* ('earlier') > *cuatro días antes* ('four days earlier')

The second type of comparison we can find in adjectival and adverbial groups is illustrated by example (79).

(79) *Juan   es   el   más   alto   de   la   clase.*
     Juan   be-Pr-3s the   most   tall   of   the   class
     'Juan is the tallest in the class.'

Comparisons such as that in (79) appear in utterances where the entities that make up a given set are ordered according to the degree in which the quality denoted by the adjective or adverb is present. We could say, then, that in these comparisons the Standard represents a whole set instead of a single entity. For example, in (79) the Standard is represented by *la clase* ('the class'), which is regarded as a set containing individuals There are two possible orderings, depending on the perspective taken:

- Comparison with reference to maximal quantity, realized in Spanish through the construction *más* + adjective/adverb ('most'): *la chica más alta de la clase* ('the tallest girl in the class').

- Comparison with reference to minimal quantity, realized through the construction *menos* + adjective/adverb ('least'): *la chica menos alta de la clase* ('the least tall girl in the class').

The set that serves as the framework for building the comparison is not always explicitly expressed in the clause, but it can be easily deduced from the context. If the adjectival group appears within a nominal group, the class-ascription indicated by the Thing automatically defines the set, as the following examples illustrate:

- *El mejor profesor* ('the best teacher'), comparison with reference to maximal quantity for the quality 'good' within the set of 'teachers'.
- *La línea aérea menos segura* ('the least safe airline'), comparison with reference to minimal quantity for the quality 'safe' within the set of 'airlines'.

Alternatively, it is possible to define a more restricted set within which the comparison is established. This is normally recognizable by the presence of the preposition *de* ('of') in Spanish, even if the set represents a place, as can be seen in example (80).

(80) *Su universidad es la   segunda más   importante de Suecia.* (CREA)
     its university is the second most important of Sweden
     'Its[Lund] university is the second most important in Sweden.'

In addition to the various manifestations of quantification seen so far, adjectival groups admit a further kind of modification. We can refer to this as Scope, as it serves to restrict the range of application of the quality denoted by the adjective. It is possible to distinguish two common types of Scope. In the first one we specify that the quality assigned to a participant is interpreted in relation to a process, as in *un libro fácil de leer* ('a book easy to read'). The process must appear in the Infinitive form and it is always preceded by the preposition *de* ('of') in Spanish.

   The second type of Scope restricts the application of the quality to a specific role, as is the case in *bueno como cantante* ('good as a singer'), *poco efectivo como arma* ('little effective as a weapon'). Note that the restriction imposed on the scope of the quality allows us to assign qualities to an entity that would be mutually exclusive in normal circumstances: *bueno como intérprete, mediocre como compositor* ('good as an interpreter, mediocre as a composer'). The Scope in these examples always denotes a class (*cantante,*

arma), and the construction allows the direct reference to the class with any type of noun, so no Deictic is employed. The noun denoting a class must be introduced by the word *como* ('as').

6.5 The prepositional phrase

A prepositional phrase is the combination of a preposition and a group or a rankshifted clause assuming the functions of a nominal group. The resulting structure is a phrase rather than a group, since one cannot identify a central element that can stand in isolation and that makes the most important semantic contribution. Instead, both the preposition and the group are essential components of a prepositional phrase: the group signals a participant or circumstantial, whereas the preposition specifies the particular function these have in the transitivity structure of the clause, as examples (81–82) illustrate.

(81) *Fui   al   cine   con   unos   amigos.*
     go-P-pfv-1s to-the   cinema   with   some   friends
             |____DESTINATION____| |____ACCOMPANIMENT____|
     'I went to the cinema with some friends.'

(82) *Le   di   un   regalo   a   María   por   su   Cumpleaños.*
     her   give-P-pfv-1s   a   present   to   María   for   her   birthday
                     |____BENEFICIARY____| |_____REASON_____|
     'I gave María a present for her birthday.'

Prepositional phrases could be regarded as a substitute for an ancient case system in most European languages. In Spanish, in particular, very few participants in the transitivity structure receive an unmarked realization through a nominal group, as even the Actee or the Phenomenon, which are not accompanied by a preposition in many languages, can be preceded by the preposition *a* ('to'), as we saw in section 3.4.

Like in any language, the participant or circumstance expressed by the prepositional phrase must be compatible with the semantics of the process or noun they accompany in Spanish. Thus, prepositions such as *acerca de* or *sobre* ('about, on'), which indicate a Topic, are only compatible with processes and entities that can have a topic, such as *hablar* ('talk'), *discutir* ('discuss, have an argument'), *libro* ('book'), *película* ('film'), *exhibición* ('exhibit').

However, an interesting property of prepositional phrases is that they have the potential to evoke the processes they are typically associated with, even if these are not present. Consider examples (83–84).

(83) *Dirige   la   compañía desde Barcelona.*
     run-Pr-3s the   company   from   Barcelona
     'He runs the company from Barcelona.'

(84) *Tengo   algo   para ti.*
     have-Pr-1s something   for   you
     'I've got something for you.'

In (83) we have a Destination (*desde Barcelona*), a circumstantial normally found in processes that denote some kind of movement (*come*, *go*). As a consequence, its insertion in (83) evokes a process of movement that is not present in the main process (*dirigir* 'run'). The result is that the addressee understands that the managing of the company involves the sending of orders from Barcelona to another place, that there is some physical separation between the manager and the company itself.

Likewise, the insertion of a Beneficiary in a possessive process in (84) suggests the typical processes of 'giving' that are found with Beneficiaries, thus changing the meaning of the clause from mere possession to possession with some purpose.

Preposition phrases are rather regular in their structure in Spanish, as the preposition always precedes the group. There are no postpositions in this language, and the only irregular pattern is found with the preposition *con* ('with') and the pronouns *ti* ('you') and *mí* ('me'), as well as the reflexive pronoun *sí* ('himself, herself, themselves'). Instead of the regular phrases *con ti*, *con mí* and *con sí*, we find *conmigo*, *contigo* and *consigo*, written as a single word, where the final *-go* is actually an evolution of the original Latin preposition (*cum*) used as a postposition in these phrases.

The structure of prepositional phrases is rather simple by comparison with groups, since they do not normally admit any type of modification. The only exception is found with some prepositional phrases that express temporal location, which admit modification through comparison:

- *A la izquierda* ('to the left') > *más/menos a la izquierda* ('more/less to the left')
- *Arriba* ('up') > *no tan arriba* ('not so up')

Finally, it is worth pointing out that prepositions vary in the degree of specialization they show. While some of them indicate a single type of participant or circumstantial, most actually contain various related meanings. Thus, the prepositions that express the general notion of location in Spanish are normally applicable to both time and space (*en verano* 'in summer', *en la estación* 'at the station'), and the notions of Accompaniment, Means and Possession are all covered by the prepositions *con* ('with') and *sin* ('without'). However, there is little doubt that the preposition that can be put to more uses is *de* ('of'). The following list gives some of the many participants and circumstantials this word can indicate in Spanish:

(i) Possessor: *la casa de Juan* (lit. 'the house of Juan')
(ii) Source: *venir de un lugar* ('to come from a place'), *un paquete de Inglaterra* ('a parcel from England')
(iii) Topic: *hablar de algo* ('to talk about something'), *un libro de África* ('a book about Africa')
(iv) Carrier in a class ascription: *la ciudad de Londres* ('the city of London'), *el imbécil de tu hermano* (lit. 'the idiot of your brother')
(v) Any of the central participants in a nominalized process: *la llegada del presidente* (lit. 'the arrival of the president'), *la quema de libros* (lit. 'the burning of books')

6.6 English–Spanish contrasts

As the reader may have observed, the differences between English and Spanish at group level are not very important. The majority of the contrasts worth mentioning are found in the nominal and the verbal group, probably because these two are the most complex units in terms of structure and meaning.

Spanish nominal groups diverge from their English counterparts in three main areas: the realization of the Thing as a pronoun, the functional distribution of Deictics and the logical structure of the constituents.

The differences found in pronouns as the realization of the Thing are largely explained by the retention of morphological contrasts in Spanish that have disappeared in English over the history of the language. For instance, Spanish still preserves a three-term opposition (differentiating animate beings from inanimate entities, and male beings from female beings) for pronouns that are undifferentiated in modern English. Thus, the distinction between *he-she-it* is present in Spanish not only in the equivalent

of these English pronouns (*él, ella, ello*), but also in demonstrative pronouns (*este, esta, esto* 'this') and, to a lesser extent, in the plural forms (*ellos, ellas* 'they').

Something similar can be said of the second-person pronouns. The contrast obtained in modern Spanish between the forms *tú* ('you-singular'), *usted* ('you-polite form') and *vosotros* ('you-plural') was present in Early Modern English in the forms *thou* (which was the equivalent of modern Spanish *tú*) and *you* (corresponding to modern Spanish *usted* and *vosotros*). Nevertheless, the disappearance of *thou* in the course of the seventeenth century led to an extension in the meaning of *you*, and as a result it now covers the meanings of Spanish *tú, vosotros* and *usted*.

Like modern Spanish, Early Modern English also made a distinction between three distances in demonstrative pronouns: the extinct form *yon(der)* was employed to signal objects that were far from both the speaker and the addressee (Barber 1976), as is the case of Spanish *aquel*. Today there is virtually exact equivalence of use between the forms *this* and *este*, but the demonstrative *that* does the job of two Spanish demonstratives: *ese* and *aquel*. To complicate things further for English-speaking learners, we have seen that there is a tendency in modern Spanish to replace *aquel* with *ese* when it is not strictly necessary to indicate that the object in question is far from the both speaker and the addressee. *Aquel* is in fact frequently confined to a temporal sense of remoteness.

Also worth mentioning in relation with the realization of the Thing is the flexibility allowed by Spanish lexicogrammatical resources to construe continuous entities as discontinuous. A consequence of this is that Spanish speakers produce nominal groups that normally require some measure expression in English, such as *una madera* ('a piece of wood'), *un consejo* ('a piece of advice'), *unos zapatos* ('a pair of shoes') or *unas tijeras* ('a pair of scissors').

The divergences between English and Spanish affecting the Deictic element in the nominal group are mainly due to a different functional distribution of the three basic realizations found in both languages: *the/el, a/un* and the omission of the Deictic element. English and Spanish exhibit the same textual use of Deictics: *un/a* identifies an individual as non-specific, and *el/the* precedes specific individuals. However, both languages differ notably as to how they treat classes and prototypical instances. While English marks classes and prototypical instances through the use of a zero Deictic, Spanish also makes use of the specific Deictic (*el* 'the') with these. As we have seen, this is because Spanish differentiates between exhaustive and non-exhaustive reference to the class or group of instances, as in the

contrast between *comprar sellos* ('buy stamps') and *odiar **los** sellos* ('hate stamps'). As the English translations show, such contrast is irrelevant in this language.

Other divergences in the realization of the Deictic are caused by differences in the morphology of Deictics or the requirements imposed by certain transitivity structures in either of the two languages. The fact that the Spanish deictic *un* ('a') possesses a plural form means that this can be used to refer to a set of non-specific individuals, whereas English must resort to the word *some* in such cases: *some guys, unos tíos.* We have also seen that affection processes in Spanish are incompatible with a zero Deictic in the Phenomenon when this denotes a class or a set of prototypical individuals. English, however, does not allow direct reference to the class when talking about professions and occupations in the Attribute of a relational process, as is the case in Spanish (*Juan es estudiante* 'Juan is a student'). Instead, English speakers must signal a prototypical instance of the class (*a student*), which is marked with the non-specific Deictic.

The divergences between English and Spanish observed in the logical structure of the nominal group are pretty conspicuous and they are immediately noticed by speakers, although we have seen they are less important than most people think. As a matter of fact, the difference between the two languages in this respect is often simplified in the overstatement that adjectives are placed before the noun in English while they follow it in Spanish. As we have seen, it is true that those elements that maintain a closer relationship with the Thing, namely the Classifier and the Epithet (in particular the objective Epithet, since subjective Epithets, such as *maravilloso* 'wonderful', often appear preceding the Thing in Spanish) occupy different positions within the nominal group. They precede the Thing in English, but they are placed after it in Spanish (*a blue whale/una ballena azul*). Despite this, the majority of elements within the nominal group are remarkable similar in the position they occupy in both languages, as well as in the order they take in the hierarchy of qualification. Those components that occupy the outer layers in the logical structure of the nominal group, that is, the Deictic, the Numerative and the Relational, appear in the leftmost position of the group, whereas the element occupying the next layer – the Modifier – appears in the rightmost position.

An interesting contrast between English and Spanish is found in the realization of the Classifier. In section 6.2.1 we saw various word classes and structures functioning as the Classifier in the Spanish nominal group. These included adjectives, nouns and prepositional phrases, and of course they are all employed in English as well. English may also use nouns in the

oblique case, which does not exist in Spanish. Nevertheless, it is evident that the realization of the Classifier as a noun is far less common in Spanish than in English, even though nouns would seem to be the most natural choice for the purpose of defining a subclass within a class. Instead, Spanish speakers prefer to create adjectives derived from nouns or to resort to prepositional phrases to act as the Classifier element. Note how in the following examples the noun appearing in the English group corresponds to an adjective or a prepositional phrase in the Spanish translation:

- *A university student → Un estudiante **universitario*** (adjective derived from *universidad* 'university')
- *A gold medal → Una medalla **de oro*** (lit. 'a medal of gold')
- *Cow's milk → Leche **de vaca*** (lit. 'milk of cow')

The use of nouns as the realization of the Epithet is rare in Spanish, and only a few items can be used for this purpose: *un factor clave* ('a key factor'), *una operación relámpago* (lit. 'a thunder operation', 'a very quick operation').

The most significant divergences between English and Spanish are probably found in the verbal group, particularly associated to the notions of tense and aspect. Here we find a good number of differences in the realization of similar meanings, but also some important discrepancies in the meanings that are expressed by speakers of both languages.

One of these differences concerns the frequency of use of the Progressive forms (*be* + Gerund; *estar* + Gerund) in English and Spanish. This construction specializes in the marking of imperfective phenomenal situations (*John was reading the book*), as opposed to perfective phenomenal situations (*John read the book*). In English the use of the Progressive construction has become so grammaticalized that non-Progressive tenses cannot indicate phenomenal imperfectivity. Although the Progressive construction is also very frequently used in Spanish, we have seen that non-Progressive tenses can still convey the meaning of phenomenal imperfectivity in this language, even if this is more common nowadays in the written language. Consequently, the Spanish example *¿qué haces?* can be translated as *what are you doing?* or *what do you do?* in English.

On the other hand, the distinction between phenomenal and structural situations is clearly more relevant for Spanish speakers, particularly in the past tenses. This is indicated through the selection a distinct forms of the verb, and so the kind of ambiguity that emerges from an English sentence

like *he went to the station* cannot be obtained in Spanish. If a structural (i.e. habitual) interpretation is intended, Spanish speakers pick the Imperfective Past (*él iba a la estación*); if the process is viewed as a single event that took place in some specific time, the Perfective Past is the appropriate form in Spanish (*él fue a la estación*).

In addition, there exists a plethora of verbal periphrases in Spanish that indicate a wide range of meanings – often mixing tense, aspect and even interpersonal meanings – which are expressed in English through adverbial groups. Many of these periphrases show a small degree of grammaticalization, and so their frequency of use is much lower than that of the Progressive construction. However, the following aspectual periphrases are worth mentioning as follows:

(i)   *ir* ('go') + Gerund. Gradual development: *el dolor se fue pasando* ('the pain wore off gradually')

(ii) *venir* ('come') + Gerund. Reiteration over a period of time: *esto viene sucediendo desde enero* ('this has been happening over and over since January')

(iii) *volver a* ('return to') + Infinitive. Repetition: *volvió a llover* ('it rained again, once more')

The temporal systems of English and Spanish have much more in common than their aspectual systems. As a matter of fact, English and Spanish are more similar to each other than to any other Romance or Germanic language as far as the expression of time is concerned. This is mainly due to the fact that both English and Spanish have Perfect tenses that express almost identical meanings. In section 6.3.1 we saw that Perfect tenses indicate the temporal complex relation of 'past of present' in Spanish. We also saw that the key factor to differentiate the temporal relation of 'past of present' from that of a simple 'past' was a sense of current relevance, which could emanate from three different sources:

(i)   Persistence of a process in the present: *I've been working since 9 o'clock.*

(ii) Past experience: *I've never been to England*

(iii) Relevant recent news: *She has arrived*

As the examples above suggest, these meanings related to a 'past of present' are also found in English, and the descriptions provided for Spanish in section 6.3.1 are also valid for English. There are, however, some small dis-

crepancies that account for the variation one observes in the use of the Perfect tenses in English and Spanish.

As we saw in section 6.3.1, the Perfect tense is not the only realization in Spanish for past situations persisting in the present (example (i) above). In fact, it is not even the most common one (Zamorano-Mansilla 2006), being normally replaced by the Present tense or the periphrasis *llevar* ('carry, take') + Gerund. The English example offered above to illustrate this temporal meaning could be translated into Spanish rather literally as *He estado trabajando desde las 9 en punto*, where a Perfect tense has been used. However, a more natural translation would be *Llevo trabajando desde las 9 en punto*, where the periphrasis *llevar* + Infinitive conveys the idea of temporal persistence more satisfactorily.

A second crucial difference in the use of the Perfect between English and Spanish concerns the cases of relevant news (example (iii) above). In spite of the subjective character of the notions of 'relevance' and 'recentness', English and Spanish speakers seem to agree to a large extent on what counts as a relevant piece of news that demands the use of the Perfect tense. As a matter of fact, there is no difference in the use of the Perfect tense in the written mode of English and Spanish (at least in its European varieties). The subtle discrepancies are to be found in speech, where it is possible to come across contexts in which the same event is construed as a 'past of present' in Spanish and as a 'past' in English. The first of these contexts comprises events that take place before the interlocutors, within the time of the exchange. For instance, two Spanish speakers engaged in a dialogue will utter messages like *¿Qué has dicho?* (lit. 'What have you said') or *¿Qué ha sido eso?* (lit. 'What has been that?) as a response to events occurring during the exchange. As the oddity of the English translations show, English speakers are more likely to say *What did you say?* and *What was that?*

The second context in which Spanish speakers tend see a 'past of present' relation rather than a simple 'past' involves questions such as *¿Cuándo ha sido eso?* (lit. 'When has that been?). As we saw in section 6.3.1, the presence of a temporal locative in the clause does not prevent Spanish speakers from using the Perfect if they regard the process as charged with current relevance. This is in sharp contrast with English, in which some specific temporal location is automatically associated with a simple 'past' temporal relation. Obviously, any process located too far back in time is unlikely to qualify as relevant news even in Spanish, but the interrogative *cuándo* ('when') is perfectly acceptable with the temporal relation of 'past of present' in this language. Other expressions that signal a recent time, such as *ayer* ('yesterday') or *la semana pasada* ('last week') may appear with the Perfect depending on the relevance of the event.

Another area of discrepancy between English and Spanish in the expression of time affects the realization of the simple relation of 'future'. As we saw in section 6.3.1, this is carried out by the Future tense in Spanish, just like in English. As matter of fact, there are no significant differences between the two languages in the written language (Zamorano-Mansilla 2006). The oral language, however, presents a different picture. Here the use of the Future tense diminishes in Spanish, where it is often replaced by the Present tense, as examples (85–86) show. Notice also that this is just a matter of tense selection in the realization, as the Present tense in these examples clearly indicates a temporal relation of 'future'.

(85) *cuando   la gente   no   quepa   en este planeta,   a lo mejor*
     when   the people   NEG   fit-Pr-Subj-3s   in this planet   perhaps
     se encuentran   soluciones   en   otros   Mundos. (CREA)
     PASS   solutions   in   other   worlds
       find-Pr-3s

     'when there is not enough room for all of us on this planet, perhaps
       a solution will be found on other worlds.'

(86) *– ¿Me   puedes   hablar un   poco de   tus   estudios?*
     me   can-Pr-2s   talk   a   bit   about your   studies
     – Termino   este   año, si es que se aclara   esta   Situación. (CREA)
     finish-Pr-1s   this   year   if   clarify-Pr-3s   this   situation
     '– Can you tell me something about your studies?'
     '– I'll finish this year, if the situation is clarified.'

As regards the expression of modality in both languages, the existing contrasts were dealt with in section 4.5, and so will not be repeated here.

The differences one can spot between English and Spanish in the rest of groups and prepositional phrases are minor, but there are still a couple of them that deserve our attention. The most significant divergences are related to the expression of comparison in both languages.

It is interesting that English and Spanish speakers differ in how they prefer to build a comparison between two participants when a measure component is added. Consider examples (87–90).

(87) *el sol   es   **cuatrocientas veces   mayor   que**   la luna.*
                                                                                    (CREA)
     the sun   be-Pr-3s   400 times   bigger   than   the moon
     'The sun is four hundred times bigger than the moon.'

(88) To predict the universe, you'd need a computer **many times bigger than** the universe. (BNC: F9X)

(89) The next Easter, when the march sensibly reversed its direction, it stretched for four miles as it wound its way into Trafalgar Square, which held a crowd **ten times as big**. (BNC: ACS)

(90) It is important to remember that Norwegian blocks are **two and a half times as big as** those on the UKCS. (BNC: HB2)

We can observe that examples (87–88) are built around a comparison of superiority, whereas (89–90) are formally based on a comparison of equality, even if they actually express superiority. Evidence of this is the fact that the adjectival groups highlighted in (87–90) have roughly the same meaning, provided we ignore the different magnitudes of the comparisons. What is remarkable about this is that utterances like (89–90) are impossible in Spanish, since this language does not allow the insertion of measures with a comparison of equality. English speakers do not only have both constructions at their disposal; as a matter of fact, they seem to prefer the one that is missing in Spanish, particularly when the second participant of the comparison is implicit as in (89).

Another divergence between English and Spanish concerning comparisons between participants is found in those cases in which one of the participants is ordered with respect to a whole group or set. Consider the following English examples:

(91) As the largest-brained animals **on earth**, whales are regarded by many as our ocean-going equivalents. (BNC: A7G)

(92) This area is one of the most important watersheds **in England**. (BNC: BNJ)

The prepositional phrases highlighted in examples (91–92) denote the set or group against which the participants (*whales* and *this area*) are measured in terms of a given quality (*largest-brained, important*). A characteristic of English is that it tends to retain the preposition that would normally be used to indicate spatial location in these comparative constructions. In contrast, Spanish much more often employs the all-purpose preposition *de* to signal the set in the comparison. Consequently, the ordinary translations into Spanish of the phrases in bold in (91–92) are *del mundo* ('of the world') and *de Inglaterra* ('of England').

6.7 Summary

In this Chapter we have examined the linguistic units found below the clause. These are groups and phrases, which realize the constituents of the clause (Process, participants, circumstances).

Groups are classified depending on the word class of the central element. Thus we obtain the following:

- Nominal groups: *un **libro** sobre Europa* ('a book about Europe')
- Adjectival groups: *bastante más **interesante** como persona* ('rather more interesting as a person')
- Adverbial groups: *algo más **despacio** que tú* ('a bit more slowly than you')
- Verbal groups: *debe haber estado **lloviendo*** ('must have been raining').

As for phrases, these lack a central element, since they are the result of combining a preposition and a group (typically, a nominal group). The function of the preposition is to specify the role of the group in the clause:

- *desde el verano* ('since last summer'): Temporal extent.
- *en el aeropuerto* ('at the airport'): Spatial location.
- *A Juan* ('to Juan'): Beneficiary.

We have also discussed the elements that may accompany the central element of each group type in order to refine the meaning denoted by this.

Nominal groups can exhibit the following elements:

- Deictic: ***la*** *mesa* ('the table'), ***un*** *amigo* ('a friend'), ***este*** *libro* ('this book'), ***mi*** *historia* ('my story')
- Numerative: ***tres*** *personas* ('three people'), ***mucha*** *gente* ('many people')
- Epithet (subjective and objective): *un **gran** libro* ('a great book'), *un libro **grande*** ('a big book')
- Classifier: *oso **polar*** ('polar bear')
- Relational: *la **primera** vez* ('the first time'), *la **única** vez* ('the only time'), *la **próxima** vez* ('the next time')
- Modifier: *el hombre **que vino*** ('the man that came'), *una persona **recién operada*** (lit. 'a person just operated')

Within the verbal group we have distinguished four elements:

- Voice: *está cocinando* ('is cooking'), *está siendo cocinado* ('is being cooked')
- Modality: *podría ser* ('could be'), *tiene que estar* ('must be')
- Tense: *vendrá* ('will come'), *ha venido* ('has come')
- Aspect: *vino* ('came', Phenomenal Perfective), *venía* ('came, used to come' Structural).

Adjectival and Adverbial groups present a simpler structure, as the type of modification they admit is restricted to intensification and comparison:

- ***Realmente*** *rápido* ('really fast'), ***muy*** *alto* ('very tall')
- ***Más*** *deprisa* ***que tú*** ('more quickly than you'), *el* ***más*** *pequeño* ***del mundo*** ('the smallest in the world').

In addition, adjectival groups may contain a Scope, which defines the domain of application of a quality:

- *Difícil* ***de entender*** ('hard to understand')

Note

[1] Such conflations are quite common in Spanish, which preserves a rich inflectional morphology of the verb. In particular, tense and aspect are normally conflated in the Finite.

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